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An introduction to theology

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY.

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AN

INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY:

ITS PRINCIPLES, ITS BRANCHES, ITS RESULTS, AND ITS LITERATURE.

BY

ALFRED CAVE, B.A.,

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EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

1886.

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"What is the evidence in favour of any fundamental truth in science? It is no less than the whole science itself. What is the evidence for the rotation of the earth on its axis, or the revolution of the earth about the sun, instead of the sun about the earth? It is little less than the whole science of astronomy. All the observations ever made throughout the whole history of this science, and all the reasonings by which these observations were bound together into one consistent whole, all point to this one conclusion. The evidence derived from any single fact is small, but the effect of the whole is overwhelming. . . .

"We talk much of the right of free inquiry. We often say, 'Every man has a right to his own opinion.' But, in a question of exact science, what becomes of the right to one's own opinion? . . . Opinion is *subjective*—determined by temperament, education, and prejudice; truth is *objective reality*. . . . Opinion is *individual property*,—truth, like all great divine blessings, is the *heritage of all.*"—Le Conte, *Religion and Science*, pp. 216, 217.

PREFACE.

UPON the aim, the utility, the method, and the literary citations of this book let a few prefatory words be said.

The aim is to serve as an introduction to theology, that eminently progressive science, as theology is known at the present time.

To several classes of readers it is thought that a book like this might be a saving of labour. By such a book entrance upon the wide and interesting field of theology should be facilitated. Much, too, that is valuable should be found here by the aspirant to the more exact study of any section of the entire domain. The more advanced student again should reap the advantages of ready classification of all acquisitions, of clear apprehension of general bearings, and of that inestimable balance of mind which is born of width of view. Even the candidate for the honours of original research should perceive the gaps which most require filling, whilst saving himself the pain of doing over again what others have satisfactorily done before him.

By the nature of the case, be it also added, this book claims rather to summarize than discover. That there is some freshness of treatment, nevertheless, those will most cordially allow who are familiar with works of a similar kind in this and other languages. Every page has at least the originality which comes from careful distillation in the alembic of the author's brain; but two other novelties may be allowably

specified, namely, the general classification of the branches and subdivisions of theology, and the method of citation of literary aids.

Should the recommendations of books seem to convict the author of lack of modesty, his defence shall be, on the one hand, that the surveyor who can draw the whole map may presumably be trusted to give brief characterizations of a well here or a river there; and on the other hand, that such descriptive help as he has ventured to give in the selection of books for study would have been invaluable to him at the commencement of his own theological career. Happily the common function of the critic has been no part of his self-imposed task. The author has refrained from writing censures. That a book has been named is to be taken as proof that the present writer regards it as important—important, that is, not by any means as conveying his own views (for he has often recommended where the point of view is diametrically opposed to his own), but important as giving a clue to the present state of inquiry upon its subject. When Strauss' *Leben Jesu*, for example, is recommended, it is certainly not mentioned with any idea of approbation, but simply because the state of modern investigation upon the Life of Christ is unintelligible without the book. It has been assumed everywhere that the student who desires to pursue any line of investigation with care would prefer to read on more sides than one of a question.

And here let it be said once for all, that in the sections where Books Recommended are given, *if no place of publication is named,* LONDON *is meant,* and *if no size is stated, the volume is some form of* OCTAVO. Further, *where no characterizations are appended, the book is regarded as sufficiently described by its title, or by the heading under which it appears.* And yet again, *when a recent book has been published in London,* and in a few other cases, *the name of the publisher has been given.*

Hard work and close thought are incorporated in these

pages, but the ground to be covered is so wide, that it is to be feared inequality of treatment is inseparable from the plan. However, truth is too dear to the author for him to shrink from any criticism, whether friendly or hostile, and he will be grateful for any hints, public or private, which will help him to clarify or complete his thought. Especially will authors, whose works may appear to have been overlooked, receive his hearty thanks for any communications.

HACKNEY COLLEGE, 1885.

ERRATA.

On page 236, *add*—

BRIGGS, C. A., *Biblical Study, its Principles, Methods, and History, together with a Catalogue of Books of Reference*, New York, and T. & T. Clark, 1883. [An excellent book, especially strong in its chapters on "Higher Criticism" and the Poetry of the Bible; its bibliography is well selected.]

On page 383, *add under* SCHÜRER—

"A new edition is now being issued, the 2nd volume of which has just been published under the title, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes in Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipsic 1866. [This large volume has also been admirably translated by Sophia Taylor and Peter Christie, and issued in two volumes as the 2nd issue of the Foreign Theological Library for 1885, T. & T. Clark. This new edition forms an invaluable handbook to its subject.]

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PROLEGOMENA.

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§ 1.

ON THE VALUE OF THEOLOGICAL STUDY, ESPECIALLY TO THE PASTOR.

IN that rich and harmonious fresco, sometimes misnamed *La Disputa*, by which, together with the other mural decorations of the same gallery, Raphael has immortalized the Stanza della Signatura in the Vatican, the great master of the sixteenth century, the last and brightest link in the glorious chain of the Italian artists of first rank of that age, has put on record, in a manner which he who runs may read, his conception of the exalted character and the magnetic spell of theology. A beautiful woman, austere and chaste, with laurel intertwined in her hair, and with the Gospels in her hand, points to the picture below, whilst two cherubs by her side hold up tablets, together containing the words, "Divinarum Rerum Notitia"—"The Knowledge of Divine Things." It is evident at a glance that the painting deals with earth and heaven as one whole. A cloud divides the canvas into two halves. In the upper half the heavenly world is depicted. According to the symbolism customary at the time, the Trinity is drawn,—the Father above in the midst of seraphim and cherubim and innumerable angels,—the Saviour a little beneath, who is Himself the centre of the risen saints, His mother being to His left, and John the Baptist to His right, whilst flanking them on either side the leading patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs appear, Peter and Adam,

John and David, Stephen and Paul, Abraham and James, Moses and St. Lawrence and St. George,—and a little lower still the Holy Spirit descending as a dove. Beneath the dividing cloud, which is suggestively broken through by the descending Spirit and by some cherubs bearing the Holy Scriptures, the earthly assembly of believers is portrayed. Arranged right and left of an altar, where the eucharist is displayed and upon which the Holy Spirit is falling, a great company is seen of many creeds if but one faith. There we may distinguish Jerome, the diligent student of Scripture; Ambrose, the indefatigable pastor; Augustine, the converted philosopher; St. Bernard, the last of the Fathers; Gregory the exegete; Aquinas the systematizer; Bonaventura, the biographer of Jesus; Peter Lombard, the master of sentences; and Scotus Erigena, the master of arguments; nay, side by side with these acknowledged Christian leaders Raphael has not hesitated to put as fellow-workers, if in less prominent positions, the sad poet and the brave heretic and the saintly painter who have ennobled Florence,—Dante, Savonarola, and Fra Angelico.

Such is Raphael's representation of theology, the queen of the sciences, as was so often said in his day. Theology, in his view, dealt with God, in the mystery of His being and the mercy of His doing; it treated of man in the majesty of his nature and the misery of his fall; it unfolded the mighty plan of redemption by the Holy Spirit and His instruments, revealed Scriptures, and inspired men; it imparted knowledge, the source of which was the Triune God, the end of which was everlasting salvation, the promulgators of which were gifted men, divine knowledge which, conceived from all eternity, would spring and grow and fructify in time, enduring for ever.

Alas! our age is not like Raphael's, and many doubt both the data and the inferences of theology. What then? Theology is not the only science which has passed through seasons of neglect, to regain attention by its intrinsic merit and the enthusiasm of its devotees. Whether heard or unheeded, the true theologian will prosecute his studies with loving ardour, finding his reward, partly in the labour itself, which is so inspiring, and partly in the enjoyment of truths, which lose none of their flavour or nutrition by being unrecognised by

the mass. Is not the theologian sure that it is a science he is studying, and is he not also certain that his science is of the sublimest practical value? Nor is the theologian doubtful as to the future of his science. Christian classics, like heathen, may be buried for awhile, but they will bring a renaissance again and again when they are unearthed. And to-day the theologian may be peculiarly hopeful. The theological renaissance of the nineteenth century has been in progress for some good while. Many are beginning to feel, as said Justus Jonas in his great oration,[1] "However much we stray in the tempestuous seas of this life, and are often even wrecked, whilst one is distressed by anxiety about food and another by the thirst of glory, rest is nevertheless to be found in this port (of theology), and unless theology becomes the beginning, the middle, and the end of human things, men cease to be men, and their life is that of the brutes that perish; there is no worthier occupation for man, there is none more liberal, there is no knowledge more excellent than the true knowledge of God and religion."

Now this book being intended to initiate into the theory and practice of divine things, let a few words be said at the outset upon the advantage, especially to the professional teacher of divinity, of an intimate acquaintance with theology, divinity in scientific form. That a little knowledge of theology, as of law, medicine, art, or physical science, would be useful in accomplishing the ends of a liberal education, it would be easy to show at length; but, like the other branches of knowledge just indicated, theology is the peculiar pursuit of a professional class; it is therefore upon the value of a specific training in theology as a preparation for the office of a public religious teacher, that emphasis is at present laid. The following remarks are largely applicable to all who are interested in the acquisition or communication of divine truth; nevertheless it is the future pastor who is mainly in view, and whose desire for the highest efficiency in his sacred calling is assumed to be so intense that he frets at inappropriate methods of preparation for the work of his life.

There are *two great ends to be accomplished* by any suitable

[1] *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. xi. column 44.

preparation for the Christian ministry, namely, to *discipline* and to *furnish* the mind of the future worker in the pastoral office. The task of mental culture as such is more especially undertaken in the general literary education which rightly precedes the professional, and where—to put the gist of the matter in a sentence—the aim is to cultivate the faculties of the man as distinct from the minister. All are agreed, that in every professional pursuit it is wise to train the several natural aptitudes by the methods of what is commonly called a liberal education, prior to the exercise of those aptitudes in the chosen domain of lifelong labour. Only after the student of medicine has developed his powers of observation, reasoning, and imagination, of self-control, caution, prudence, tact, wisdom, and sympathy in the intellectual pursuits of the schools and the university, is he admitted to the hospital bedside or pathological lecture-room. Similarly, it is only after the theological student has gained some general facility of mind in the study of language, science, and philosophy that he can wisely commence the subjects proper to his special career. When introspective skill has been gained by the aid of philosophy, when mathematics has imparted its unrivalled insight into the processes of deductive reasoning, when the physical sciences have revealed the secrets and splendid capabilities of the inductive method, when heart and mind and will have been captivated and moulded by the charms of literature almost insensibly imparting an air of culture whilst thrilling with its own strange delight, when, further, all the branches of common knowledge have together drilled the plastic mind to application, perseverance, and thoroughness, making refinement delicate, argument cogent, observation keen and rapid, imagination quick and ordered, inquiry pleasant and habitual, then, and then alone, can the cultured man proceed with advantage to become the erudite specialist. Then, having *formed* his mind in the "letters" which are "more human," he may *inform* it by the professional knowledge which is "more divine." Certainly a liberal education informs as well as forms, and, conversely, a theological education forms as well as informs. The study of Latin, for example, opens the way to much useful knowledge in addition to invigorating the mind by grappling

with philological difficulties, and, in like manner, the study of doctrinal theology augments accuracy as well as spirituality. Notwithstanding, speaking broadly, the aim of a literary course of study is to form rather than inform, and, on the other hand, the aim of a theological course is rather to inform than to form. In illustration of the general principle, be it noted how every definition, proposition, or theorem of Euclid may be forgotten in after life, whilst notwithstanding the fulfilment of the main purpose of mathematical study may be visible in a finer reasoning fibre and a firmer deductive grasp. On the contrary, if the interpretations of the Bible supplied by exegesis pass from the memory, or the doctrines inculcated by dogmatics, both sciences have failed in their great end.

In the FIRST place, then, *the disciplinary and especially the didactic importance for the future pastor and teacher of a scientific acquaintance with theology is incalculable.* Indeed, the preacher who has not spent days and years in theological investigation is, to recur to the previous parallels, as great an anomaly as the physician who has not studied medicine, or the lawyer who is ignorant of law. If the fact that a few self-taught herbalists or medical amateurs approve themselves to be skilled in the treatment of disease is a legitimate argument for dispensing with medical education, then it is also legitimate to infer that, because a few preachers who have had no specific theological culture are kings amongst their fellows, therefore a theological education is unnecessary, and possibly pernicious, for the intending occupant of a pulpit. The lay preacher, the Sunday-school teacher, the Bible-reader, the evangelist, would all be the better for some knowledge of theology; for the Christian minister such knowledge is indispensable, and will have to be acquired laboriously and unmethodically when all the energies are requisite for its practical enforcement, if its principles, methods, and prominent results are not studied as a branch of ministerial education. In its very nature Christianity is friendly to learning, and has naturally originated a learning of its own. It saves men by teaching them truths. It makes knowledge preliminary to salvation and holiness. Its ministry is a teaching ministry. It places its sacred books, written in foreign tongues, pervaded by an alien atmosphere,

themselves the choicest specimens of vivid history, lofty poetry, and profound philosophy, in the forefront of its means of grace. It fosters inquiry and awakens a personal spiritual judgment. Must it not demand, therefore, a studious, cultured, reflecting ministry, whose education has been especially thorough in its own specific teaching and methods? It is amongst the theologically uneducated or half-educated that heresies spring like weeds in a fallow. Undoubtedly "mother-wit, shrewd sense, a personal knowledge of Christ, close intimacy with the English Bible," have made many a useful pastor, but not the most useful. Practically considered, ignorance of the rich stores of theological teaching is not preferable to knowledge. Given the same godly determination and insight, and the theologically trained minister puts more talents out to interest in his Master's service than the untrained. As has been well said, "The cry should be, not 'less intellect, less study, less culture,' but simply 'more heart, more prayer, more godliness, more subjection of culture to the salvation of those who have little or none of it.'"[1] And another American writer very pertinently continues: "If ever the service of the ministry was a routine, it is no longer such. There is no research of scholarship, no philological skill, no power of historical investigation, no mastery in philosophy, no largeness of imagination, no grace of life and character, no practical self-denial, no gift of eloquence to man by the written or spoken word, no energy of character, no practical sagacity, no polemical acuteness, no wisdom of counsel, . . . which may not find the fullest employment and which are not needed by the Christian Church. It wants its men of fire, its men of piety, its men of large discourse, its labourers in our streets and lanes, its men of calm philosophy, its heroes and saints: especially does it want its trained bands to meet both Pope and pagan."[2] A pastor is no longer "the one educated man in a parish;" all the more necessary is it that he be the one theologically erudite man, strong in Scripture and sure in doctrine. The weight and source of pastoral authority has shifted from the priest to the man. A critical spirit has arisen from the wide

[1] Austin Phelps, *Theory of Preaching*, p. 203.
[2] H. B. Smith, *Introduction to Theology*, pp. 23, 24.

diffusion of the facts and methods of natural science, which cannot tolerate in the pulpit the hesitance or the dogmatism of the theological tyro. "It is not learning, but want of learning, which leads to error in religion."[1] The preacher must compete in matter as well as form with the popularized theology of the press and the religious newspaper. All relations between the pastor and his flock tend to become purely personal, and nothing so commands respect as a well-deserved reputation for adding to the art of preaching a scientific knowledge of the subjects with which preaching deals. *Qui bene distinguit, bene docet.* Further, if one secret of successful preaching is adaptation, which surely increases with knowledge of the subjects to be treated, none can doubt that another secret is the power of persuasion, of belief pressed home, and this presupposes intelligent conviction in all preaching above the evangelistic level. The preacher is, in fact, a popularizer of much special knowledge; for instance, he must be an expert in the interpretation of Scripture. To open the Bible, to proclaim the truths of revelation, to tell the Gospel by the light of what he has personally felt and tasted and handled of the word of life, if this is the life-work of the overseer of a church, how can it be fittingly carried out without theological acquisition? He who interprets the Old Testament or the New without exact study must obey some laws of commentating, which will be unconsciously obeyed at best, and may be grossly erroneous. Grip of Christian doctrine is equally called for in the preacher. Preaching of any pretension to variety or range can scarcely be consistent without a system of some kind, which if not carefully learnt must be blunderingly framed for oneself, or blindly, at least prematurely, accepted from others. The man who constitutes himself an authority upon details of doctrine, without careful and prolonged meditation of the thoughts of others, is neither likely to honour God nor benefit man. Shallowness and extravagance usually go hand in hand! "If," says Mr. Mahaffy, "piety without ability, or piety without firmness of character, is very often an unsafe guide in human affairs, so piety without learning is seldom of

[1] Marsh, *Lectures on Divinity*, 1809, pp. 12, 15, 16.

much effect in the pulpit. I do not mean that general learning, without which all preachers become thin and jejune, and weary their hearers with constant repetitions and platitudes; this is indeed important, and requires considerable leisure and ability for its acquisition, but we must lay even more stress on that special theological training, without which no man, in any religion, or reasonable system of theology, can properly teach and explain to his congregation the dogmas they should believe, and the duties they should perform."[1] Nor were the unlearned fishermen who first propagated Christianity, so often appealed to as counter-arguments, so illiterate as is imagined by those who seem to regard theological ignorance as indispensable to pulpit success. What the apostles learnt almost without effort, we have to acquire by labour the most accurate and sustained. Peter, James, and John breathed a Hebrew atmosphere, talked Hellenistic Greek, had studied the great religious writers of their nation from their childhood, had learned the doctrines of their faith from the greatest Teacher Himself, so patient in imparting, so wise in instilling germ thoughts at right times, at once so prudently reticent and so frankly communicative. Certainly aptitude is necessary to the religious as to the literary or scientific teacher, but to aptitude a long special culture should be added; for truism as it is that the scientific study of theology cannot make an unfit man a preacher, it can make a preacher fit. Schleiermacher, the greatest theologian and almost the greatest preacher of his day, was wont to say to his class: "It is the union of the theologian and the pastor which makes a father of the Church." "I believe the remark," said that prince of preachers to his students (Mr. Spurgeon), "is too well grounded, that if you attend a lecturer on astronomy or geology, during a short course you will obtain a tolerably clear view of his system; but if you listen, not for twelve months, but for twelve years, to the common run of preachers, you will not arrive at anything like an idea of their system of theology. . . . Brethren, if you are not theologians, you are in your pastorates just nothing at all. . . . Verbiage is too often the fig-leaf which does duty as a covering for theological

[1] *Decay of Preaching*, pp. 65, 66.

ignorance. Sounding periods are offered instead of sound doctrine, and rhetorical flourishes in the place of robust thought. Such things ought not to be. . . . Unless we are instructive preachers, and really feed the people, we may be great quoters of elegant poetry, and mighty retailers of second-hand windbags, but we shall be like Nero of old, fiddling while Rome was burning, and sending vessels to Alexandria to fetch sand for the arena, while the populace starved for want of corn."[1]

SECONDLY, *in the spiritual results of a study of theology remuneration will also be found for the severest theological toil.* "Clear and distinct thought in matters of religion is a very great help to devotion."[2] It is matter of fact that every great advance in the religious life, whether of individuals or communities, has had its beginning in a clearer apprehension of theological truth. Practical advance is preceded by intellectual advance. This is so in our personal experience, if we examine ourselves closely. A fuller understanding of the atonement, or prayer, or the omnipresence of the Deity, or the living Christ, or any detail or principle of the Bible, quickens our religious sensibilities and prompts to renewed energy. It is the same with the men of light and leading who make history. An observant writer has even gone so far as to say that "it is not the example of a holy life, but the assertion of a separate creed, which has reformed the world again and again," that "it is dogma which rules the great changes in the religious thought of the world," that "all great social and political revolutions have been preceded by intellectual movements,"—Voltaire and Rousseau, and the *Encyclopédistes*, for example, "awakening the French mind to the ideas of the revolution."[3] The assertion is an exaggeration of a great truth. Let an Athanasius settle by protracted prayer, thought, and inquiry the eminently subtle distinction as to whether the person of Christ is ὁμοούσιον or ὁμοιούσιον with the Father, and he will afterwards stand against the world of emperors, prelates, magistrates, and mobs for the truth which has had so rich a

[1] *Lectures to my Students*, first series, p. 74.
[2] J. Pilkington Norris, *Rudiments of Theology*, 1876, p. 70.
[3] Mahaffy, *Decay of Preaching*, pp. 77 and 118.

practical effect upon his own spirit. What was it but a deeper theological conviction, matured by Biblical study, concerning the directness of the soul's intercourse with Christ, which inspired Luther? What but their theology made Wiclif and Hus, Savonarola and Knox, Cranmer and Ridley, Whitfield and Wesley? Who shall estimate the value in our English life of the theological writings of Hooker, and Ussher, and Leighton, and Owen, and Baxter, and Howe? A similar testimony is borne by the annals of great movements of religious thought. Clearer intellectual apprehension has always produced a more blissful experience, and a more consistent and enriched practice; or, to put the same thing in another way, a more vital realization of Christian truth has always been antedated by its more accurate intellectual apprehension. The whole course of the Church is a comment upon this statement. Christian faith may be largely the same the wide world over, and Christian morality may always have some identical features, but the common unanimity of faith and practice does not and cannot preclude the necessity of theological inquiry. The same paradox is seen in the natural sciences without seeming paradoxical. The common facts of nature are the same to all men, but this similarity of everyday experience does not for a moment supersede the necessity for ordered, careful, and prolonged investigation. The great desideratum for robust faith is just that formulated doctrine which results from the scientific study of theology. Concatenated knowledge has its place in the life of the believer as well as personal experience, however delightful and invigorating; for, as a savage may become ecstatic over a chemical experiment he cannot repeat, or a man may have a keen pleasure in music without knowing his notes but is unable to impart that pleasure to others, so the religion of the untheological Christian is invertebrate, and largely consists in a personal delight which is incommunicable. The Church which mistakes indefiniteness for breadth is not apt at evangelizing; the Church which confounds personal sentiment with catholic doctrine cannot be successful in edification. Moreover, when the apostle Peter bids us "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh a reason of the hope

which is in" us, let it be remembered that such readiness is born of intellect rather than intuition, of theology rather than experience. Theology, in fact, occupies the place in spiritual things science does in natural; it educates, it matures, it equips; it is the discipline of the teacher; it is the mental furniture of the leader and originator of religious thought; it summarizes the past to be recounted, it suggests the future to be produced; it forms in the preacher that special character which is invaluable in his craft, for as there is a legal and a medical and a commercial character, the attainment of which is the great aim of specific training, so there is a theological character, rendering practice easy and judgment rapid and wise. Indeed, seeing that theology is simply thought about religion reduced to system, to disregard theology is either the mark of childishness or senility—of spiritual faculties too immature or too decadent to think orderly. To borrow another illustration from the natural world: any man, woman, or child can see the sun and feel its warmth; each receives therefrom much the same impression; but the delineation of the physical features of the monarch of the ether, the theoretical interpretation of its heat and light and structure, matters of supreme practical as well as scientific import, are the slow acquisition of the labours of centuries, and always leave room for earnest thought and continued investigation. It is the same with theology. Some choice fruits of the merciful revelations from on high all who are willing may share; there is a family likeness among all the sons of God; but neither the clearness of parts of Scripture nor the catholicity of Christian experience precludes further inquiry; the precise, orderly, affiliated expression and explanation of the facts presented by Scripture and experience (which is theology), a pursuit of almost equal importance to the theoretical and practical mind, demands and repays ceaseless and unwearying labour. "That theological learning is necessary to make a good divine," said Bishop Marsh, "will appear still more evident when we consider what it is which constitutes the chief difference between the unlearned and the learned in theology. It is not the ability to read the New Testament in Greek which makes a man a learned divine, though it is one

of the ingredients without which he cannot become so; the main difference consists in this, that while the unlearned in divinity obtain only a knowledge of what the truths of Christianity *are*, the learned in divinity know also the *grounds* on which they rest, and that this knowledge ought to be obtained by every man who assumes the sacred office of a Christian teacher, nothing but the blindest enthusiasm can deny."[1] "In point of fact," it has been said by another erudite writer, "the great end of Christian theology is the employment of practical power to the highest ends, and on the widest scale; it is the transmutation of the Christian faith into the Christian life—first in the individual, intermediately in the Church, ultimately through the Church in society at large; this transmutation when accomplished is the realization of the kingdom of God. The faith without the life is barren; the life without the faith is shrivelled; the faith in the life is the great end."[2]

And there is yet a THIRD reason why *the student for the ministry* should aim at a familiar acquaintance with theological science. He *must be more or less of a theologian whether he will or not.* Fichte, in one of his discussions upon the utility of philosophical study, is content to base the utility of speculation upon its necessity, every thinking man being impelled to philosophize whether he will or not. Fichte means that to run some roads and introduce some plan into the jungle of ideas is an irrevocable consequence of the possession of reason. The sentiment is just. The thoughtful man must either accept a philosophy already framed, or frame one for himself. With equal truth it might be said that every thoughtful Christian must *theologize;* and the true pastor is a meditative Christian who has consecrated his life to form and guide other Christians who may be fairly credited with thinking. It is true that some Christian teachers say that they will take the express statements of Scripture for their theology. They forget that this express teaching has itself to be gathered and harmonized by much theological study. The point has been

[1] Marsh, *Lectures on Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible*, new edition, 1828, p. 11.

[2] H. B. Smith, *Introduction to Theology*, p. 14.

well put by John Henry Newman. "When we turn," he says, "to the consideration of particular doctrines on which Scripture lays the greatest stress, we shall see that it is absolutely impossible for them to remain in the mere letter of Scripture, if they are to be more than mere words, or to convey a definite idea to the recipient. When it is declared that 'the Word became flesh,' three wide questions open upon us on the very announcement. What is meant by 'the Word,' what by 'flesh,' and what by 'became'? The answers to these involve a process of investigation. Moreover, when they have been made, they will suggest a series of secondary questions; and thus at length a multitude of propositions is the result, which gather round the inspired sentence of which they come, giving it externally the form of a doctrine, and creating or deepening the idea of it in the mind."[1] Nor should the golden words of Bishop Butler be forgotten, where he so wisely says: "And as it is owned the whole scheme of Scripture is not yet understood, so, if it ever comes to be understood, it must be in the same way as natural knowledge is come at, by the continuance and progress of learning and of liberty, and by particular persons attending to, comparing, and pursuing intimations scattered up and down it, which are overlooked and disregarded by the generality of the world. Nor is it at all incredible that a book which has been so long in the possession of mankind, should contain many things as yet undiscovered. For all the same phenomena and the same faculties of investigation, from which such great discoveries in natural knowledge have been made in the present and last age, were equally in the possession of mankind several thousand years before."[2] No true pastor can refrain from testing his religious convictions, from attempting to make them accurate, reliable, and consistent, and what is this but to form a theology? Religious questions, now as ever, stir the warmest blood of our times, and that pastor is untrue to the highest ideal of his office who shirks the questions which disturb not only this age but all ages. The Fall of Man has its problems; the doctrine of the Trinity has its difficulties; the Bible is not

[1] *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, 1845, pp. 97, 98.
[2] *The Analogy of Religion*, Part II., chap. iii.

wholly clear as the moon; beautiful and fascinating as is the character of Jesus, there are many enigmas in His life and work; and shall a man hope to preach the Gospel efficiently who cannot direct to some extent as well as sympathize with the intellectual perplexities of his age? Moreover, to study a true theology is to re-think the thoughts of God; for there is, as has been beautifully said, a "theology older than our schools, older than the earth and the stars, coeval with the Godhead; always yet never old, never yet ever new; dateless and deathless as the divine decrees." Is not the endeavour to catch and reproduce some points of that ideal yet most real theology worth the study of a life? He who works amongst men, conscious of that high calling, will inspire even when he cannot teach. In short, there can be no irrefragable certainty upon religious questions unless there is either a confidence in the religious reasonings of others, or else in our own theological foundation and superstructure; and the preacher who has not the accent of conviction had better be silent. Mature religious life must adopt a theological system, or do its best to make one; and he is a poor religious teacher, and very immature, to use no harsher phrase, who cannot say "Follow me" in thought as well as life.

> "Acquaint thyself with God, if thou wouldst taste
> His works. Admitted once to His embrace,
> Thou shalt perceive that thou wast blind before:
> Thine eye shall be instructed; and thine heart
> Made pure shall relish, with divine delight
> Till then unfelt, what hands divine have wrought."
>
> —COWPER, *Task*, chap. v. line 782.

§ 2.

AIMS OF THIS INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY.

TURNING from such high themes to the problem of this Introduction, that purpose is sufficiently indicated by the name. The end contemplated is to *introduce* the intending student of theology to the large and important range of studies he proposes to pursue. To this end the several branches and methods of the theological sciences are to be rapidly reviewed. Such an Introduction should survey every section of theology. Without some knowledge of the whole, it is hardly possible to form a proper estimate, to say nothing of arranging a suitable plan, for the investigating of any part, as will be more clearly understood as we proceed. Still even at this stage the necessity for laying a broad foundation may be made evident. It is true that the intending preacher might think that all he had to do was to study preaching, but the preacher who would preach well must have some skill in the interpretation of Scripture, should have some sound opinions upon Christian doctrine, and would be wise to have some acquaintance with the history of the Church, the entire range of theology thus ministering to his success. The systematic theologian again, solely anxious to form precise views of the teaching of Christianity, might imagine that he could betake himself straightway to his special study, but, as a matter of fact, he is unable to proceed a step without a minute acquaintance with the language and declarations of Scripture, and without some knowledge of the opinions of the great religious and philosophical writers of all ages. Further, no man can investigate the history of the Church to advantage without a familiar knowledge of the apostolic age, and this implies accurate exegesis; nor can the commentator dispense with what other interpreters,

whether preachers or theologians, have thought to be contained in the sacred Christian books. In short, every branch of theology is so interwoven with every other branch, that at least a general survey of the whole field of theological study is indispensable to any scientific acquaintance of the tiniest constituent section. An Introduction to theology has therefore to answer, concerning all parts of theology, such questions as these, *what* should be learnt by the student of theology, *why*, *when*, and *how*.

Remembering these phases of the problem to be solved, *this Introduction will be conveniently divided into two parts. In the first part, the theological sciences as a whole will call for consideration.* We must settle what is meant by theology and the theological sciences. We must then inquire as to the relations between theology and religion, theology and philosophy, theology and science, several highly important conclusions revealing themselves during the discussion. It is further needful to inquire what place theology holds in the classification of all the sciences, the several schemes of Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and others requiring attention. Subsequently, the classification of the theological sciences themselves must be determined. Nor should the principles and results of Bibliography in its application to theological inquiry be overlooked, even if practical rules which may wisely guide in the general pursuit of theological investigation be not added.

The several branches of theology having been enumerated in the first part, in the second part these several branches themselves must be considered. In this specific part the separate theological sciences should be passed under review consecutively, their several definitions being framed, their relations to the other theological sciences shown, their utility examined, their method described, their varieties and sections stated, their history sketched, the best books for their study named and characterized, and rules being presented for their successful pursuit. And all this must be done, to use an expressive word of Bishop Marsh's, in a *luminous* order; for it is imperative that the separate sciences be studied according to a scientific arrangement. Our inquiry may contain all the

divisions and subdivisions of theology, but unless it expounds them in an appropriate order, it can never produce conviction, it can never lead to that which is the ultimate object of all theological study, the establishment and forcible proclamation of the great truths of Christianity. The several departments must be so arranged that the one follows upon the other in regulated succession. The consequences which would follow the violation of this rule may be best illustrated by an example. Suppose, for instance, that a professor of theology begins his course of lectures with the doctrine of the Inspiration of the Bible. This doctrine, however true in itself, or however sure the arguments by which it may be demonstrated, cannot possibly, in that stage of his inquiry, be proved to the satisfaction of his audience, because he has not yet established other truths from which this truth must be deduced. Whether he appeals in confirmation of the doctrine to the promises of Christ to His disciples, or to the declarations of the apostles themselves, he must assume that those promises were really made, that is, he must take for granted the authenticity of the writings in which those promises and declarations are recorded. He must also assume that the text of the Scriptures upon which he relies is the very same text which was written in the first century, and has been transmitted without an error through eighteen centuries more. He is also obliged to suppose that the interpretations placed by him upon the several passages quoted in proof are alone correct. Further, his entire argument proceeds on the basis, which surely calls for some support in turn, that the collection of religious books we call the Scriptures contains all the inspired writings in the world, and none which are not inspired. From this example, therefore, the necessity is seen of method in the study of theology, of so arranging the several parts of theology that no argument be founded upon any proposition not already substantiated. Nor is it sufficient to describe and arrange the several parts of theology. The grounds of arrangement, the modes of connection, should be reasoned.[1]

[1] Compare Marsh, *A Course of Lectures on the Several Branches of Divinity*, Cambridge, 1809, p. 5.

So much may suffice to explain the general problem. But it is desirable to state distinctly that a collateral object should be, to teach where the best information can be obtained upon the numerous subjects which will come under review. Some guidance should therefore be given to the authors who have written upon the several subjects, in which connection the eloquent words of Bishop Hall are noteworthy. "What a happiness is it," he says, "that without all offence of necromancy, I may call up any of the ancient worthies of learning, whether human or divine, and confer with them of all my doubts! that I can at pleasure summon whole synods of reverend fathers and acute doctors from all the coasts of the earth, to give their well-studied judgments in all points of question which I propose. Neither can I cast my eye casually upon any of their silent matters, but I must learn somewhat. It is a wantonness to complain of choice. No law binds us to read all: but the more we can take in and digest, the better liking must the mind needs be. Blessed be God that hath set up so many clear lamps in His Church; now none but the wilfully blind can plead darkness. And blessed be the memory of those His faithful servants, that have left their blood, their spirits, their lives, in their precious papers, and have willingly wasted themselves into these during monuments to give light to others." "By habitual communion with loftier spirits," wrote Montgomery, "we not only are enabled to think their thoughts, speak their dialects, feel their emotions, but our own thoughts are refined, our scanty language is enriched, our common feelings are elevated." Some guide to the written theological monuments of the past and present should therefore be provided by such an Introduction as this. Nor is it enough for the purpose, as in some introductions, to give a catalogue of theological books arranged alphabetically or chronologically; there should be a classification under heads, and the heads themselves should be reduced to a proper system. In some way, too, the contents of the principal works elucidatory of the several divisions and subdivisions of theology should be tersely represented, and, as far as practicable, placed in their historical setting. Further, remembering the multi-

plicity of books, there should be a rigorous process of selection. Books upon any subject of value to the student are of two kinds,—those which form the epochs in the history of the subject, and those which present the subject in its maturest form; all other books may be allowed to gather dust undisturbed upon the shelves of libraries, being of interest to the librarian or bibliophile rather than the student. Everything else that needs be said upon this very important subject of books of reference will come more suitably in the section on the Bibliography of Theology.

Should a course of study so comprehensive in its plan appear too much for one man either to pursue or teach, the generalizing purpose of the whole must be borne in mind. It is wholly foreign to the plan laid down to afford a copious or thorough insight into any single branch of theology, to say nothing of all those branches taken together,—in which case the examination would be brought to a conclusion in no single life. As regards the learner, it will be well for the world if in time to come he surrenders all spare time to a thorough study of some section of theology, but the more ripe he is for such minute investigation the more fully he will acknowledge his indebtedness to such an Introduction as this, which would prepare the way for accurate detail by wise general views. Indeed, when it is said that our task has reference to all the *branches* of theology, the word itself may be permitted to suggest the necessary qualification. If we have to describe the fruits which have been gathered from those branches and the storehouses where they have been garnered, we have not to do with the minute structure of those fruits or the elaborate process of their formation. Or, employing another illustration, the mark aimed at may be compared, not to a perfectly complete series of photographic views of a new country, but to a handy map or book of directions, from which the traveller may learn the road he must take, the stages he must go, and the best stopping-places, if he would arrive with ease, speed, and safety at his journey's end, descriptions of which kind are no less useful to the traveller through the paths of knowledge than to the explorer of unknown lands. What the beginner in theology requires, if he is to work at the greatest

advantage, is a knowledge of the extent of his subject, of its groupings, of its light and shade and perspective, of those general bearings which enable him to appreciate any part in its relative position and due proportion. Microscopic investigation, at once close and limited, is apt to give erroneous impressions unless corrected by a philosophic breadth and justness of view only to be gained by a general acquaintance with the whole field of study. Exaggeration and distortion are the vices of specialists.

§ 3.

UTILITY OF SUCH AN INTRODUCTION TO THEOLOGY AS THIS.

PROCEEDING, however, to a fuller statement of the usefulness of such an Introduction to the wide domain of theology as is here presented, it is well to remember, IN THE FIRST PLACE, that *knowledge of any kind is of value for its own sake*, at once satisfying, quickening, enlarging, and strengthening the mind.

Still more valuable, SECONDLY, *is knowledge when reduced to accuracy and order*—systematic knowledge. In fact, no great progress can be made in any branch of learning until the particular truths included therein are viewed in their relations and connections with other truths. As said solid Andrew Fuller, "He whose belief consists of a number of positions, arranged in such a connection as to constitute a consistent whole, but who, from a sense of his imperfections and a remembrance of past errors, holds himself ready to add or retrench, as evidence shall require, is in a far more advantageous track for the attainment of truth and a real enlargement of mind than he who thinks without a system." In this respect the theological do not differ from the physical and moral sciences. "In the various branches of physical and moral science, we become acquainted with them in a prescribed order—an order more or less perfect according to the clearness and logical accuracy with which the relative connection of the principles involved is perceived. What competent teacher of philosophy would inveigh against all general laws, all system, all methodical arrangement?"[1] Can then so comprehensive and vital and elaborated a series of facts and inferences as it is proposed to sketch be otherwise than eminently useful? In revelation no less than nature, unity, arrangement, development, law and design are manifest.

[1] Dewar, *Systematic Divinity*, 1867, vol. i. p. 6.

Referring to the utility of the study of logic, Mr. John Stuart Mill wrote that if such a science existed, it must be useful.[1] It might be as justly said, that if there be such a science of theological introduction as has been sketched, it cannot fail to be of advantage.

THIRDLY, as has been said in the preceding section, *such a science would at least provide a handy guide to any one desirous of knowing what theology is, what are the problems it has undertaken to solve, what results it has attained, what purposes it subserves,*—its why, its what, and its wherefore; it would initiate into the methods peculiar to theology as well as common to it with all sciences; the vast accumulation of theological literature would lie before the inquirer in so ordered a manner that some judicious familiarity therewith might appear possible within the compass of one short and busy life; even a guide to the purchase of books and suggestions for the arrangement of the shelves of a library, would be provided; in a word, such an outline of theology would, at the very beginning of his difficult task, put the learner at a height and vantage only attainable by the combined labours of many generations of specialists, and giving that practical insight into the entire ground covered by the science to be acquired, which makes all reading studious, all labour fruitful, and all research timely. This introductory study has been already likened to a map in unknown lands; it might equally be called a plan to the explorer of a new city, or a sketch drawn by an expert and put into the hands of the visitor on the threshold of a great and splendid cathedral of many styles and an extended history. Many thinkers have expressed their sense of the high value of such a survey into the entire field of related knowledge when placed in the hand at the portal of theological study. Says Clarisse justly, "Tot vero doctrinarum campum, tam late patentem, nemo feliciter emetietur, nisi illas omnes prius, in compendium quasi redactas et sub uno veluti adspectu collocatas, eorumque nexum, et quomodo aliæ ex aliis pendant, mentis oculis circumspexerit"[2]:—"So great indeed are the fields of doctrine

[1] *A System of Logic*, vol. i. p. 10.

[2] *Encyclopediæ Theologicæ Epitome*, 1835, p. 2.

and so wide-reaching that no one will survey them felicitously, unless at the outset he perceive them all with his mental eye reduced into a kind of compendium, and brought, so to speak, under one glance, together with their relations and interdependence." Hagenbach expresses the same opinion in this way: "Every student," he says, "should seek to procure from the beginning of his labours a general view of (theological) knowledge, not to deliver himself superficially on every conceivable subject, but to be able to find his latitude and longitude in the *orbis doctrinæ*." [1] Again, so great a thinker as Schelling has written: "The special relation to a single section of a great subject must be preceded by a knowledge of the organic whole: the man who gives himself to any precise science must learn the place it occupies in the whole, the special spirit which animates it, as well as the manner in which it is harmoniously connected with the whole; he must know the manner in which he must pursue this science itself, in order that he may proceed not as a slave, but as a free man, and in the spirit of the whole." [2] "The most natural and suitable introduction to the study of a science," said Rothe, "is the exposition of the purpose of its pursuit in all its essential elements and in its necessary coherence,—the presentation of the organic complex of the specific parts into which it is divided, and in which it is to be treated if it is possibly to be grappled with." [3] Doubtless some theologians, like some naturalists, may, as careful collectors of facts, render useful service; but as is true of the naturalist who aspires to be scientific, a biologist as well as a naturalist, the theologian must blend thoughts with facts, generalizations with observations, knowledge of wholes with knowledge of particulars; he must place the part in the whole, and adjust the whole to contain the part, if he would render the highest scientific service. Now it is just this knowledge of bearings which an introduction to theology such as is proposed can both implant and mature. As has been well said in a book

[1] Hagenbach, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften*, § 1.

[2] Schelling, *Methodologie*, p. 7.

[3] Rothe, *Theologische Encyklopädie*, 1880, p. 1.

which has had some influence in the collegiate arrangements of America, "So far-reaching and universal are the relations of things, that no one thing can be fully known without a knowledge of a multitude of other things. Hence, in order to teach anything to the best advantage, the teacher needs to know not only that particular thing, but everything else to which it stands related. The best method of teaching a child his alphabet is a question involving profound principles of philology, as well as mental philosophy. None but a profound scholar and philosopher is qualified to make a spelling book. . . . A good reading book can only be prepared by a man of correct taste, wide acquaintance with literature, and finished classical education. . . . The best text-books in the natural sciences for the use of schools and academies have been prepared by the professors and teachers of natural science. . . . Other things being equal, the more a man knows of everything, the better he can teach anything; and the more thorough and complete the discipline of his own mind, the better he can impart even a little discipline to the mind of another. A well-educated man will give the best education to a child."[1] The truth so ably illustrated every preacher should bear in mind. He who is aptest in theology will, other things being equal, be the most efficient teacher of divine things even to a popular audience. Whilst, therefore, this Introduction will show the need of perseverance and patience to the beginner who would for intensely practical ends enter the wide fields of theology, it will at the same time impart instruction as to what implements should be used in fruitful tillage, what seed sown, what weeds eradicated, and what harvests expected.

And, FOURTHLY, turning from the nature of the case to actual history, *it is noteworthy concerning such educational helps as this Introduction, that they have always appeared in groups whenever a more vital interest has been aroused in theological matters.* More enthusiastic practice has demanded more careful training, and a greater satisfaction of the desire to know has borne fruit in turn in an augmented determination to do. All the great epochs in religious advance have produced their crop of theological introductions.

[1] Professor Tyler, *Prayer for Colleges*, New York 1855, pp. 73, 74.

Thus, *in the fourth century*, when the splendid success of Christianity in the conquest of the Roman Empire gave an increased status to the advocates of the Gospel of Jesus, awakening a wider desire to hear and understand, the necessity for a handy guide for ministerial students through the special subjects they were to officially teach showed itself very clearly, and was responded to by several books not without interest even to-day. Introductions to theology of a more scientific kind are, it is true, modern, but helps for students have often been prepared containing more or less of scientific matter. A good instance was Chrysostom's interesting work on the priesthood, *Περὶ Ἱερωσύνης*, which has been several times translated, and which lays down an exalted idea of ministerial life on its intellectual as well as its moral side. The work of Ambrose, *De Officiis Ministeriorum*, was almost wholly of a practical nature; but Augustine, his more famous pupil, followed very largely along the lines of Chrysostom, and wrote, with his peculiar theological insight and sympathy, his excellent *De Doctrina Christiana*, in four books, specially designed for the use of preachers.

So too, *in the Middle Ages*, the schoolmen, in their zeal for theology, gave to their pupils the *Didascalion* of Hugo of St. Victor and the *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincent of Beauvais, who earned for himself the title of a man "immensæ lectionis." On the other hand, the reactionary movement against scholasticism had its students' guides in the letters of Gerson, *De Reformatione Theologiæ*, and those other letters of his to the college of Navarre, *Quid et qualiter studere debeat novus theologiæ auditor, et contra curiositatem studentium*, and also in the *De Studio Theologico* of Nicolaus of Clemangis. Incidentally scientific only as are these books, it is notwithstanding of interest to observe how, wherever theological education was pursued with vigour, introductions were desiderated to the theoretical side of the pastor's life.

The great awakening of *the sixteenth century* bears witness to the same fact. The origin indeed of the modern Introduction to Theology is, like so much other learning, distinctly traceable to the Reformation. Here Erasmus led the way with his *Ratio seu Methodus compendio perveniendi ad veram*

theologiam, which he wrote as a preface to the second edition of his New Testament, published in 1519, and afterwards issued in an enlarged and separate form in 1522. This Matthew Arnold of his day required of the interpreter of Scripture a wide culture—Latin and Greek and Hebrew, logic, arithmetic, rhetoric, and music, and some knowledge if possible of natural history, geography, and astronomy. Melancthon, also, perceiving the need of an accurate theological training for his students if the great work of Luther was to stand, gave himself personally to effect this, and in a manner well shown by his little work on our science, in three folio pages, his *Brevis Ratio discendæ Theologiæ.* As a result of the increased interest in theology aroused by Melancthon, ten notable books were written, as Introductions to Theology, in the Lutheran Church alone before the close of the sixteenth century, thus testifying at once to the method of the professional teachers of that body and to the number of students of theology. A similar need was apparently felt in the Reformed Church, being met by text-books penned by such men as Bullinger, the successor of Zwingli in the pastorate of Zurich, who wrote a *Ratio Studii Theologici*, as Conrad Gesner, who devoted to theology the last book of his *Pandectarum universalium libri,* which would be nowadays called an encyclopædia, and as Andreas Gerhard of Ypern, a professor at Marberg, who wrote a work in four books, *De Theologo seu de ratione studii theologici.*

In the times *subsequent to the Reformation,* the same fact is seen. Although the treatment of theological introduction naturally declared the various movements which passed over the Protestant Churches, it is nevertheless sufficiently evident how each successive school of thought felt it advisable to have its own handbook for beginners. Thus there were works written after the manner of the Protestant scholasticism of the seventeenth century, amongst which may be mentioned two prefatory books of Alsted in his *Methodus Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ*, published at Hanover in 1623, the *Meletemata de officio doctoris christiani* of Frey (1711–1715), and the notable *Methodus studii theologici publicis prælectionibus in acad. Jenensi* of the great theologian John Gerhard. Similarly,

in giving new voice to Pietism, Spener put forth his *Piis desideriis* and his *De impedimentis studii theologici*, his example being followed by others of his school. The more liberal tendency in theology made its special contribution in the *Apparatus Theologici* of George Calixt, whose eclecticism made him the mark for most of the hard names of his day. Further, when both the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of the Continent had assimilated the good of Pietism, new expositions were given for beginners from the amended standpoint, by Pfaff, *Introductio in historiam theologiæ literariam* (1724–1726); by Buddeus, *Isagoge historico-theologia ad theologiam universam singulasque ejus partes* (2 vols., 1727); by Walch, *Einleitung in die theologischen Wissenschaften* (2nd edit., Jena 1753); by Mosheim, *Kurze Anweisung die Gottesgelahrtheit vernünftig zuerlerlen* (1756); and by Mursinna, who introduced the name of Encyclopædia for our science, as will be shown in the next section, *Primæ lineæ encyclopediæ theologicæ in usum*, etc. (2nd edit. 1784). Yet again the Rationalistic party found it necessary to have their text-book, written by their great leader Semler, under the title of *Institutio brevior ad liberalem eruditionem theologiam*, published in 1764 and 1765, and issued in an enlarged edition in 1777. If Semler's work did no other good, it at any rate supplied the motive for Herder's admirable letters on Religion and Theology, which may even now be read with advantage for their strong human interest, their conspicuous literary ability, their appreciation of Scripture, their poetry and thought and beauty. (*Zur Religion und Theologie*, parts 13, 14, J. G. von Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, 1829.)

In like manner, the religious phases of *this present century* have been reflected in Germany in the introductions published, just as an increased interest in England and America in theological studies has produced some similar books. Speaking broadly, the German theologians of recent times may be divided into the orthodox Lutherans and Calvinists, the Hegelian school, and the followers of Schleiermacher. Each section has issued its introductions to theology. Harless, *Encyclopädie und Methodologie*, 1837, is a Lutheran work, valuable, however, for its historical sketch of the development

of theology and for its copious literature. The *Encyclopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften* of Rosenkranz, 1865, is thoroughly Hegelian. So, too, Schleiermacher himself gave the greatest possible impetus to our study by his *Darstellung der theologischen Studiums zur Behufe einleitender Vorlesungen*, of which, and its many followers, more presently in section 5, where also recent English works will be named and characterized, and where the example of the Roman Catholic theologians will afford an additional instance of the general truth.

Fifthly, *such an introduction as this has its place to some extent in the thought of the mature theologian as well as of the beginner.* Introductions of the kind intended are peculiarly deserving of the name of *systematic* theology. Only in so far as they are based on some good systematization of theological studies are they able to be good guides, at once adequate and clear. This systematic groundwork will remain of permanent value, rendering command easy over the enormous detail daily accumulating, and suggesting many a valuable hint as to method and relative importance.

Lastly, *discovery as well as culture, investigation as well as acquisition, may be aided by such an introduction.* Gaps in the evidence, unexplored regions, districts insufficiently surveyed, results that are meagre, and results that are untrustworthy,—touchstones for the past, finger-posts for the present, and clues for the future,—all open before us as our systematic plan discloses its logical consequences and its promise of fertility. This book, be it remembered, distinctly aims at being a guide to progressive theology, to theology that is of a scientific and free, as opposed to a theology that is of a confessional and unprogressive kind. If, therefore, the plan of this book is of any value, it will not only guide to the present condition of theological knowledge, but will point the way to the most pressing needs of the near future. Whilst it helps to train some in theology, to some it should suggest careers.

§ 4.

RELATION OF THIS INTRODUCTION TO WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THEOLOGICAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA AND METHODOLOGY.

BUT it is now time to draw attention to some *other names which have been suggested for what is here called theological introduction.* For example, following the analogy of the word logic, which is the science of the sciences, Räbiger[1] proposes to call the introduction to theology—the science of the theologies, so to speak—*theologic.* The great difficulty in the use of this term in English would be its employment in its adjectival form; "theological," meaning "that which pertains to theology generally as well as to theological introduction," being too established in common use to permit of a change of connotation. Nor is this term of Räbiger's the usual German technicality. From what has been previously said as to the aims of theological introduction, they are seen to be twofold,—to furnish on the one hand a sketch of theology and its several branches in their organic connections and relations, and on the other hand to provide a plan of theological study, showing the order in which the various topics are best taken up, and indicating the best methods, the necessary helps, the useful books. This latter branch, the *practice* of theological introduction as we should say, the Germans call methodology; the former, the *theory* of theological introduction as we should say, they call encyclopædia,—together, the encyclopædia and methodology of theology. Theological encyclopædia (to be carefully distinguished from *Real-Encyclopædie,* an encyclopædia of facts in any order, alphabetical or otherwise) is, says Zöckler, "the science of the idea (*Begriff*) and the contents (*Inbegriff*) of

[1] Räbiger, *Theologik oder Encyklopädie der Theologie,* 1880, p. 100.

theology."[1] Theological methodology is, says Hagenbach, "applied encyclopædia."[2] Adopting, therefore, a well-known English distinction, the encyclopædia of theology would be equivalent to the *science*, and the methodology of theology to the *art*, of theological introduction. In their love for technicalities, methodology has also been termed by the Germans hodegetic (from *ὁδηγός*, a guide) and propædeutic (from *προπαιδεύω*, to impart preparatory teaching).

The significance and origin of the use of encyclopædia in this sense is not far to seek. The Greeks gave the names of *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία* or *ἀγωγή*, *ἐγκύκλια παιδεύματα*, *μαθήματα* or *γράμματα* to those branches of knowledge which belonged to the culture of every free man. The corresponding terms adopted by the Romans were the *artes liberales* and the *artes ingenuæ*. The actual word *ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία* first occurs, it would seem, in the writings of the Greek physician Galen, who wrote in the second century before Christ. What these branches of a liberal education were, was naturally a matter of considerable controversy, opinions varying much at different times; but from the time of Augustine, and throughout the Middle Ages, seven such sciences and arts were accepted (*septem liberales artes*), divided into a lower course or *trivium* (whence our word "trivial") of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric, and a *quadrivium*, or higher course, of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Very intelligibly this convenient general term encyclopædia came, in the advance of knowledge, to be applied to the entire range of truth of a professional as well as a preparatory kind. Further, it was only an application of the same general idea when, in the age succeeding the Reformation, men came to speak of the encyclopædia of jurisprudence, of medicine, and of other arts and professions, meaning thereby the complete range of facts and inferences belonging to each branch. It was, however, a more distinct return to earlier usage when, in the seventeenth century, as has been mentioned in the preceding section, Mursinna, on

[1] Zöckler, *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in Encyklopädischer Darstellung*, 1882–1884, vol. i. p. 85.

[2] Hagenbach, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften*, edit. 10, 1880, § 3.

the look-out for a suitable term, applied the word, not to the entire range of theology, but to its introduction.

So much, then, for the meaning and history of the use of this German technicality. It is doubtful, however, whether any good would result from its introduction into English, almost inevitably suggesting as it does to an Englishman the arrangement of all sorts of subjects in alphabetical order. At any rate the simpler term introduction to theology, being as clear and more appropriate, has been preferred. Nor does there seem any good reason for speaking of the pure and the applied science as the encyclopædia and methodology of theology. By a purist, it is true, the two sections might be separately treated; but, seeing that the common practice of their united treatment has its grounds in usage and utility, the one name has been regarded as adequate for both theory and practice. To an Englishman it would appear pedantic to speak of the encyclopædia and methodology of biology, where introduction to biology would suffice, and the same remark applies to all branches of knowledge, theology included. At least such is the verdict of English usage, as the next section shows.

§ 5.

RECENT WORKS ON THEOLOGICAL INTRODUCTION.

IN concluding these prefatory considerations, and before advancing to the consideration of the idea and relations of theology in general, a few words may be wisely devoted to the recent works which have dealt with the subject before us. In this science, as in most branches of theology, the Protestant Churches of Germany have taken the lead, whilst followers of some note have been found in Holland, France, and the English-speaking nations, even the Romish theologians finding it desirable to write text-books from their own peculiar standpoint. Turning therefore to Germany first, we shall next cross the frontiers of the Fatherland to Holland and France, thence pass to England and America, completing our survey by some glances at the labours of Rome in the Introduction to theology.

It was Schleiermacher's treatise already mentioned which brought theological introduction again to the front in GERMANY. First published, however, in 1811, the full effect of the *Kurze Darstellung des Theologischen Studiums* was not felt until the second edition appeared in 1830. The powerful grasp of the whole displayed therein, the logical statement of the problems and relations of the several parts, and the rigorous obedience to the lead of the guiding principle adopted, have proved very suggestive and stimulating to subsequent writers. If the book itself be superseded, its influence remains, and recent works owe much to its inspiration. A translation by William Farrer was published at Edinburgh in 1850 under the title, *A Brief Outline of the Study of Theology*. It is not necessary to give the titles even of all the works suggested by Schleiermacher's, but the prominent writers may be mentioned. One good result was

Hagenbach's *Encyclopädie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften*, the most useful German manual upon the subject; the first edition appeared in 1833, and the eleventh in 1884; altogether it is a work of great practical value, a little confused in its division of the subject, and rather too much given to scholarly digression and irrelevant additions, but invaluable for its historical sketches, its thoroughness, and its references to German books. A free rendering of Hagenbach, with large additions to the English and American literature, has been issued in New York, 1884, by Drs. Crooks and Hurst, under the title, *Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, on the basis of Hagenbach;* it forms vol. iii. of the *Biblical and Theological Library* of the Methodist Episcopal Church: as in Hagenbach, the books mentioned are for the most part simply named and not characterized, a few characterizations appearing, however, in the lists of English and American literature. Pelt's *Theologische Encyclopädie* (Hamburg 1843) follows Schleiermacher's method closely, but is a thorough and erudite work, careful in statement, broad in range, and accurate in literature, not equal, however, to Hagenbach's work with all its faults. The errors in general view so conspicuous in Hagenbach are to some extent rectified in Räbiger's *Theologik oder Encyclopädie der Theologie*, Leipsic, 1880, to which a brief supplement was published in 1882, entitled *Zur theologischen Encyclopädie*, in which some minor improvements were made, and the literature of the subject was corrected to date. Although Räbiger does not supersede Hagenbach in practical value, he has undoubtedly added considerably to the scientific definitions and arrangement of the constituent sciences which together form theology in Hagenbach's view. In fact, Räbiger has taken the general arrangement of Hagenbach (which differs much from that adopted in this book), and applied it more consistently to the detail of the system. Räbiger has also given a very elaborate history of the study of theological encyclopædia from the days of Chrysostom to the present, of course, like all Germans, regarding foreign contributions to his subject as beneath notice. A good translation of Räbiger, and his supplementary tractate, has been made by the Rev. John Macpherson, in the

Foreign Theological Library, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1884, 1885, the translator having added several good notes, and supplemented the lists of books considerably, especially the lists of English books. Perhaps it should be added that the standpoint of Räbiger, in both doctrine and style, is not only very German, as we might expect, but coloured beyond expectation or necessity by theological bias. Since their lamented deaths, posthumous works by Von Hofmann, Lange, and Rothe upon the subject before us have been edited from their papers, of interest, however, rather as formulating the general theological views of those very individual thinkers than as permanent contributions to our study. The works are called respectively, *Encyclopädie der Theologie*, by T. C. K. von Hofmann, edited from lectures and manuscripts, by H. T. Bestmann, 1879; *Grundriss der Theologischen Encyclopädie mit Einschluss der Methodologie*, by T. P. Lange, Heidelberg 1877; and *Theologische Encyclopädie*, by Richard Rothe, edited from his remains by Hermann Ruppelius, 1880. In 1882 and the following years, another great handbook was issued under the editorship of Otto Zöckler, with the co-operation of many distinguished scholars. This *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in Encyclopädischer Darstellung*, in 3 vols., is not, however, a handbook of theological introduction, but a handbook of the theological sciences, very admirable in its way. Its purpose is, on a plan suggested by the science of theological introduction, to afford in one work a series of guides to the special theological sciences written by specialists, and its scientific arrangement is quite subordinate to its practical purpose.

Of works produced in HOLLAND, there is a noteworthy one by Clarisse, *Encyclopædiæ Theologicæ Epitome*, 2nd edition, 1835, noteworthy, that is to say, for its numerous practical suggestions to the theological student, and for its copious literature, which is unusually full in references to English books. Clarisse's work, however, belongs to the time before Schleiermacher, and lacks scientific method. Two Groningen professors, Hofstede de Groot and L. G. Pareau, in their *Encyclopædia Theologi Christiani*, the first edition of which was published in 1840, and the fifth in 1851, spread

the views of Schleiermacher in Holland, with much individuality. In 1876, Doedes, in his *Encyclopedie der Christelijke Theologie*, displayed considerable scientific skill, following the main lines of Hagenbach with much acute and original remark; a second edition of this book appeared in 1883.

The PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF FRANCE have made few original contributions this century to the scientific study of theological introduction. There is, first, the small treatise of Kienlen, a thesis written for a doctorate, and published in 1842; it follows the lines of Schleiermacher, and is written clearly. Then follow three articles in the *Bulletin Théologique* of the *Revue Chrétienne* for 1863 and two following years, by Godet, Pronier, and Thomas. In 1878, Edouard Vaucher published an *Essai de Méthodologie des Sciences Théologiques*, too individual to be of much value. A good article on our subject, from the historical point of view, appears in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, written by the editor. In 1883, another thesis for a doctorate was printed by Ernest Martin, entitled *Introduction a l'étude de la théologie protestante*, sadly lacking thoroughness and breadth of view, whence arise its principal faults, viz. illogical peculiarities of division, lack of appreciation for the past history of theological introduction, and want of adaptation to the practical wants of students; its best section is that on the utility of an encyclopædic view of theology.

Very few books which can be called introductions to theology of a scientific kind have appeared in ENGLISH. Indeed, as yet, the practical needs of the theological student have scarcely given any impetus to the scientific presentation of the entire range of theology. Nevertheless the practical guides, which have necessarily preceded the more thorough and orderly exposition, have had some scientific value. There are, for instance, many excellent remarks in books of pastoral theology on the best methods of study, and some special treatises deserve notice. Among these are Dodwell, *Advice on Theological Studies*, London 1691; Bennet, *Directions for Studying*, 3rd edition, London 1727; Cotton Mather, *Manudictio in Ministerium*, Boston 1726 (republished, with additions, as Mather's *Student and Preacher*, by Ryland, London

1755); Doddridge, *Lectures*, Works, London 1830; Bickersteth, *Christian Student*, 4th edition, London 1844. In the same category may be classed the very useful guides to the theological students at our universities, such as part iv. of the *Student's Guide to the University of Cambridge*, 6th edition, revised, 1880, and *A Guide to the Study of Theology, adapted more especially to the Oxford Honour School*, written by F. H. Woods for the series of Oxford Study Guides. A very good book of this class, brief and complete, intended primarily for the assistance of students preparing for ordination in the Episcopal Church of England, is *The Student's Theological Manual*, by G. H. Preston. In Marsh's *Lectures on Divinity*, Cambridge 1809–1822, there is a much stricter approximation in method and spirit to the German treatises: the full title is, "A Course of Lectures, containing a description and systematic arrangement of the several branches of Divinity, accompanied with an account, both of the principal authors, and of the progress which has been made at different periods in theological learning, by Herbert Marsh, D.D., F.R.S., Margaret Professor of Divinity;" a good title certainly; but alas! the execution is indifferent; the several branches are very unsystematically arranged, only a section of them is handled, and the treatment is too often popular rather than scientific; like all the Bishop's writings, it opens a world which it fails to explore. It is a great advance from Marsh to Drummond, *Introduction to the Study of Theology*, by James Drummond, Professor of Theology in Manchester New College, London 1884, 12mo. The express aim of Drummond is "to deal, not with the matter, but with the scientific form of theology, and to bring before the student the nature, method, and mutual relations of the various branches of theological study, so that he may see more clearly the bearing of his labours, and view the several departments of his work, not as incoherent fragments, but as constituent members, each with an appropriate place, in a collective organism which embraces them all." According to the scheme adopted, the several branches of theology are, first, philosophy; second, comparative religion; third, Biblical theology; fourth, ecclesiastical history; fifth, systematic theology; and lastly, practical

theology. It is no part of Mr. Drummond's plan to give either a sketch of the several branches treated (with one conspicuous exception—systematic theology), or a historical sketch of the investigations already made in any branch; nor is there any reference to the best books for the student's use. Within the narrow limits assigned by the plan, however, the book is able and interesting, although the theological standpoint of the author necessarily vitiates many of the conclusions. The *Introduction to Christian Theology* of Professor Henry B. Smith, D.D., LL.D., a posthumous book published in New York in 1883 from the lamented author's notes, is an introduction to systematic theology, not an introduction to theology in general,—very ably and suggestively done, be it added. A book on Theological Encyclopædia compiled from the lectures of Dr. M'Clintock (the writer of an excellent article on Theological Encyclopædia in M'Clintock & Strong's Cyclopædia), and published at New York in 1873, the writer has not been able to obtain.

Even Roman Catholic writers have not left this field of introduction untilled, the successful example of Ellies du Pin, in his well-known *Méthode pour étudier la Théologie,* published in 1716, and subsequently translated into several languages, having been followed by other writers in the eighteenth century, most prominent amongst whom were Gerbert, who wrote in 1754 his "Apparatus for Theological Erudition," and Oberthur, who wrote in Latin and in German upon Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology. The influence of Schleiermacher also made itself manifest in Drey, *Short Introduction to the Study of Theology, with reference to the Scientific Standpoint and the Catholic System,* published at Tübingen, 1819; in Klee, *Encyclopädie der Theologie,* Mainz 1832; in Staudenmaier, *Encyclopädie der theologischen Wissenschaften als System der gesammten Theologie,* 1st edition, Mainz 1834, 2nd edition, 1840, and some other writers. All these books are, of course, of purely historical interest to the English student of theology.

PART I.

INTRODUCTION TO THE THEOLOGICAL SCIENCES IN GENERAL.

§ 6.

DEFINITION OF THEOLOGY.

LET the study of the general relations of theology be begun with definition. *The word theology*, as a slight acquaintance with literature soon discloses, *has been used in very different senses.* Under the changing conditions of human knowledge, a series of adaptations in meaning have been necessitated by a widening view of the subject-matter of our science, whilst at the same time the older meanings have survived. To the Greeks *θεολογία* was an inquiry concerning the ancient deities and their relations to the world.[1] Very naturally this convenient technicality passed over to the Christian Church, and, seeing that the earliest investigations concerning the Deity centred in the person of Christ, by a theologian was at first understood a student of the doctrine of the Son of God, or of the Trinity. John the Evangelist was distinctively the "theologian" by virtue of his doctrine of the Logos, and Gregory of Nazianzum and Athanasius attained to the same honourable name by their defence of the deity of Jesus. So late as the time of the First Crusade, Abelard called his two principal works, which treated of the Trinity, *Introductio in Theologiam* and *Theologia Christiana.* Already, however, another connotation was becoming common, for the Scholastics, in their more extended researches, found the advantage of using the word in the wider sense of "the doctrine of divine things," and it soon became usual to designate the systems of doctrine, elaborated by such men as Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, "sums" of theology, "*Summa Theologica*" or "*Summa Universæ Theologiæ.*" Yet again, the controversies which followed the Reformation led to a further extension, and there are frequent

[1] Comp. Plato, *Republic*, ii. 379 ; Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, x. 6 ; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 21.

references to natural as well as revealed theology (*Theologia Naturalis, Revelata*). Of course θεολόγος varied in significance with θεολογία. It should, however, be mentioned that θεολογος had a different meaning according to accent; θέολογος was the inspired man, the man to whom God speaks, the prophet; θεολόγος was the man who speaks of God, the theologian.

Passing to modern usage, it is again evident that several meanings are commonly attached to the word, theology having to do duty for different things in different writers, and even in the same writer in different contexts. First, in accordance with strict etymology, theology is the science of God, a sense as frequently met with to-day as in the days of Origen and Anselm. Theology in this sense is concerned with the being and attributes of God or the Trinity. Sometimes a slightly wider meaning is attached to the term, theology being regarded as the science which treats of the doctrines of God and man in their several relations, in which sense, as Aquinas said, "Theologia a Deo docetur, Deum docet, ad Deum ducit,"—"is taught by God, teaches God, leads to God." Yet again, a third connotation is sometimes implied, in which case theology is used as the synonym for the Christian religion in all its forms treated scientifically, Biblical, historical, and practical, as well as doctrinal. A fourth usage is also becoming more and more frequent, according to which theology is concerned with heathen as well as Christian religions, and stands for the science of any religion, Muhammedan, Hindu, or Jewish, besides Christian. Nor is a fifth employment unusual, when the idea of science being dropped out, theology is supposed to deal with any truth or practice whatever associated with man in his superhuman relations—possibly a survival of an ancient usage, for Augustine tells us that the Romans divided their "theology" into political, fabulous, and natural.[1] In four cases then out of five, the fifth, however ancient, being commonly regarded as an aberration from justifiable speech, theology is considered as a science, that is, as a systematic examination of a class of facts, the class of facts varying. Thus, according to the intention of the writer or speaker, theology may be the science of God (theology proper), or the

[1] *De Civitate Dei*, vi. 6.

science of God and man in their mutual relations, past, present, and future (systematic theology), or the science of all the facts of the Christian religion without restriction to doctrines (Christian theology), or even the science of the facts of any religion (theology in general).

In this diversity of employment, it is highly desirable to have some exactitude of usage. Possibly the best method for insuring precision is to restrict the word to the widest usage, adding modifying appellatives wherever necessary. Theology as such, then, is the science of religion; and natural, Parsi, Biblical, Christian, pastoral theology are the sciences respectively of the religion of nature, of Zoroaster, of the Bible, of Christ, of the working pastor. Such, at any rate, will be the usage in this book, although, not to be pedantic, the modifying appellatives may be sometimes omitted, where mistake is not easy. Doctrinal theology, for example, may frequently be substituted for doctrinal Christian theology, when the reader is not likely to be thinking of the doctrines of any non-Christian faith.

§ 7.

WHAT IS RELIGION?

THEOLOGY, then, being the science of religion, what is religion? In answering the question, little help is to be gained from etymology. Like "theology," "religion" is used in a variety of senses more or less remote from the original employment. In this case, further, there is a considerable difference of opinion as to the etymology. According to Cicero, *religio* is compounded of *re* and *legere*, to read again, to reflect upon, especially to study the sacred books in which a faith is delivered. According to Lactantius, *religio* is derived from *religare*, to bind back, because religion furnishes the true ground of obligation. It is not impossible that the latter derivation may be correct. Reference to such words as *optare* and *optio*, *postulare* and *postulio*, *bellare* and *rebellio*, would seem to show that many verbs in *are* were preceded by older forms in *ere*, from which the related nouns were derived, and, apart from the analogy thus supplied, there are actual indications of the existence at one time of a verb *ligere* with the sense of *ligare*. Nevertheless, historical evidence seems to favour the Ciceronian view.[1]

When we turn from etymology to usage, it is soon evident that religion is used in two very different senses at least, viz. in an *objective* sense, to indicate that which affects man in his superhuman relations; and in a *subjective* sense, to mean the state of mind produced by these superhuman relations. Max Müller draws attention to this difference of meaning in his *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, where he says, "It will be easily perceived that religion means at least two very different things. When we speak of the Jewish, or Christian, or

[1] A good summary of this philological question, and references to some exhaustive discussions thereupon, will be found in Nitzsch, *System*, § 6.

Hindu religion, we mean a body of doctrines handed down by tradition, or in canonical books, and containing all that constitutes the faith of Jew, Christian, or Hindu. Using religion in that sense, we may say that a man has changed his religion, that is, that he has adopted the Christian instead of the Brahmanical body of religious doctrines, just as a man may learn to speak English instead of Hindustani. But religion is also used in a different sense. As there is a faculty of speech, independent of all the historical forms of language, so there is a faculty of faith in man, independent of all historical religions. If we say that it is religion which distinguishes man from the animal, we do not mean the Christian or Jewish religion; we do not mean any special religion, but we mean a mental faculty, that faculty which, independent of, nay in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names, and under varying disguise. Without that faculty, no religion, not even the lowest worship of idols and fetishes, would be possible; and if we will but listen attentively, we can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the Infinite, a love of God."[1] Without endorsing all that Max Müller says here, this passage may be noticed as illustrating forcibly the objective and subjective meanings attached to religion in common usage. As recognised in conversation and literature, there are two classes of facts for which the one word does duty. Subjectively, religion is a matter of experience; objectively, religion is a matter of observation. Subjective religion may be increased by outward means, those outward means constituting objective religion. Yet again, each of these two classes of meanings has two tolerably well-defined sub-classes. Used subjectively, religion means *either* our state of mind in the presence of the superhuman, *or* the faculty which enables us to possess such a sense. If there seems some confusion in speaking of religion, on its subjective side, as both a feeling and a faculty, this is only a consequence of the facts; in the paucity of language the facts of the case are responsible for the two-fold usage. Religious feelings are so universal that they point

[1] Pp. 16–18.

to a religious faculty; it seems as natural for man to worship as to eat, or see, or hear, or smell. Objectively considered, religion is *either* the knowledge *or* the cult afforded by or addressed to the subjective sense. Standing therefore on the broad platform of religion in general, of natural as well as revealed religion as the phrase goes, religion may mean four things,—a homage to a superior power, or the faculty which prompts that homage, the knowledge which is possessed concerning the object of homage, or the mode of worship addressed to that object. Thus when we speak of the religion of a heathen, we mean his capacity for worship possibly, or his feeling in worship it may be, or what he thinks he knows about his God perhaps, or even the rites by which he desires to approach his deity. Similarly, we often speak of the Christian religion or the Christian's religion, meaning by the former *either* the doctrines *or* the worship peculiar to Christianity, and by the latter *either* the peculiar sentiments evoked by Christianity *or* the spiritual ability of the individual to whom Christianity is addressed.

So much then for the testimony of common usage; religion may refer to religious feeling, or religious knowledge, or religious cultus, or religious faculty. But here the question arises, whether further simplification can be introduced into the definition of religion. Certainly relations may be traced between these several significations and things signified; for religious feeling is the emotional consequent of religious knowledge, just as religious cults are the volitional consequents of what has been rationally apprehended, whilst no definition of the religious faculty can be framed except by definition of the variety of knowledge which that faculty supplies. If it be possible, therefore, to ascertain what is the differentia of religious knowledge, religious feeling will be definable as the emotional result of that knowledge, and religious worship as its volitional result. The religious faculty too, as has been just said, is best expressed in terms of its product.

What, then, is religion in its most rudimentary form, or more accurately still, what is that germinal form of knowledge which we call religious, and which, when it affects the feelings, we call religious feeling, and which, when it moves the will, we

call religious worship? In other words, what varieties of perceptions do we call religious!

The problem has occupied some of the greatest thinkers of modern times. "Religion," said Kant,[1] "is the recognition of all our duties as if they were divine commandments;" but this was to identify two different things, religion and morality. With more justice, seeing that he introduces the supernatural into his statement, Fichte[2] said, "Morality and religion are absolutely one, for both are a grasping of the supersensuous." Similarly said the younger Fichte,[3] "Religion is conscious morality, a morality which, in virtue of that consciousness, is mindful of its origin from God." In essentially similar terms, Schelling[4] said, "The first meaning of religion is consciousness, the highest unity between what we know and what we do." But all these definitions err by endeavouring to identify religion with one of its frequent effects. Pushing his analysis further, Schleiermacher[5] found the seat of religion in feeling, — "Religion," said he, "is constituted of feeling, the absolute feeling of dependence upon God." Here again religion is defined by one of its effects; it is not the feeling of dependence which is the ultimate fact, but the rational perception of that supernatural somewhat upon which the feeling of dependence follows; what he needed to define was what he calls God, and not dependence. There was point, therefore, in the reply of Hegel, who contended that religion had to do with the whole of our mental nature, with intellect and will, as well as with feeling; indeed, said he, "Religion is the relation of the subject, of the subjective consciousness to God, who is Spirit,"[6] a view which Nitzsch[7] has yet further amplified and corrected by saying that "Religion is an active and passive relation of the finite consciousness to the Creator, Preserver, and Ruler of all." These two definitions show progress, it is true, but they nevertheless still define religion by one of its effects; it is not the relation of the subject to the object which is the ultimate difficulty, or the primary

[1] *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, iv. 1.
[2] *Werke*, v. p. 210. [3] *Ethik*, i. p. 23. [4] *Werke*, i. p. 55.
[5] *Christl. Glaube*, 2nd ed. § 4. [6] *Religionsphilosophie*, pp. 35, etc.
[7] *System der Christl. Lehre*, § 6, end of note 2 (6th ed.).

fact, but the perception of the object. A similar objection lies against the view of Pfleiderer,[1] who is still in the toils of the subjective philosophies, when he says, "Religion is not the consciousness of God alone, nor even an indefinite relation of the same to the consciousness of self and of the external world; it is the passage of the consciousness of self and of the world into the consciousness of God," which, translated into plain English, means that we have a consciousness of self, but this is not religion, and we have a consciousness of an external world, neither does this constitute religion; religion supervenes when there is superadded to the consciousness of self and external things the consciousness of God. This is not far from the truth; but it simply says that religion is the sense of the religious, and what requires definition is what is meant by the religious. Max Müller's statement much more nearly satisfies the conditions of the problem, when he defines religion as "the perception of the infinite," meaning by the infinite that which "transcends our senses and our reason, always taking these words in their ordinary meaning.[2] The term infinite is certainly far from unobjectionable. A better term would be found in "supernatural." Religion, in its most elementary form, is "perception of the supernatural." A man's religion is at bottom his perception of the supernatural.

The relations of life are twofold, sensuous and supersensuous. There is the world of nature perceived by the senses, and there is the world supernatural perceived by a certain internal faculty of intuition. Just as the eye perceives the external world, or, to use a more accurate parallel, just as the mind perceives its self-existence, so there is a spiritual eye which apprehends spiritual things. To the universality of this spiritual eye all knowledge of mankind testifies; apprehension of the supernatural is as natural as sight or hearing, the naturalness of which is not controverted by the fact that some are blind and some are deaf. Let the external world come in contact with the senses, and they image that external world, indeed the image itself is no mean argument for the reality of its cause. Similarly, let the spiritual world come in

[1] *Religionsphilosophie*, p. 257.

[2] *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion*, 2nd ed., London 1882, p. 27.

contact with the human spirit, and that spirit mirrors that spiritual world, the image again being no mean argument for the external reality. The intuition, like all intuitions, may be educated by use, and blurred by misuse. Nevertheless, that man has a perception of the supernatural the universality of the perception shows. The perception of the supernatural is religion. Religion, then, in its most rudimentary form, is a form of knowledge, it is knowledge of the supernatural, using the term knowledge in its widest philosophical sense as that which we apprehend, not that which we comprehend. This knowledge is capable of unending increase, but it is still perception of the supernatural. The effect of this knowledge upon the emotional nature of man is to evoke religious feeling, or that feeling which we display in the presence of the supernatural. The effect of this knowledge upon the volitional nature is to evoke religious activity, or that activity which we display in the presence of the supernatural. Yet again, what we mean by the religious faculty is the ability man has of perceiving the supernatural.

Religion, then, is the perception of the supernatural together with the effects of that perception upon the complex nature of man. Theology is that perception, and its mental consequents, reduced to scientific form.

§ 8.

IS THEOLOGY A SCIENCE?

BUT *may theology be called a science,* as has been done in the preceding pages again and again? Is such an employment of the word science allowable? The point is not unimportant. It is certainly one of the commonest intellectual prejudices of modern times to regard theology as outside the pale of strict science, this select name being reserved for the so-called physical sciences. Thus Mr. G. H. Lewes[1] speaks of "theology, philosophy, and science" as constituting "the spiritual triumvirate," as if theology were not science. Mr. Herbert Spencer[2] also invariably assumes that religion, even in its highest type of Christianity—and ordered religious ideas presumably which are theology—is without the domain of science. Auguste Comte finds the same opposition between theology and science, most bluntly expressed by him in his famous law of the three states: "In studying," he says, "the total development of the human intellect in its different spheres of activity, from its first simple endeavour up to our time, I think I have discovered a great fundamental law, to which it is subjected by an invariable necessity, and which appears to me solidly established, both upon rational proofs furnished by a knowledge of our organization, and upon historical verifications resulting from an attentive examination of the past. This law is, that each of our principal conceptions, each branch of our knowledge, passes successively through three different states; the theological state, or the fictitious; the metaphysical state, or the abstract; the scientific state, or positive."[3] Similar illustrations might be given from other philosophical writers, to say nothing of a large host of popularizers.

[1] *History of Philosophy,* vol. i., Prolegomena, chaps. i. and ii.
[2] *First Principles,* chaps. i. ii. and v. [3] *Philosophie Positive,* vol. i. p. 8.

In face of this contention, it is important to ask, what constitutes a science? It is true that many diverse replies have been given from the days of Cicero, when *scientia* was any form of knowledge, until the present time; nevertheless there is a commonly acknowledged signification to-day, and hence the critical question is, what is regarded to-day as constituting knowledge science? Mr. Lewes very justly says that "the office of science" may be defined "as the systematization of our knowledge of the order of phenomena considered as phenomena; it co-ordinates common knowledge; it explains the order of phenomena by bringing them under their respective laws of coexistence and succession, classing particular facts under general conceptions." Science, that is to say, results from the application of a distinctive method of classification and inference. But is not Christianity—to take the apparently least scientific section of theology—amongst "the order of phenomena," and are not its facts a section of common knowledge, because if so, may not "our knowledge of the order" of Christian phenomena be systematized, may not "our common knowledge" be "co-ordinated"? It is only an unscientific bias of the scientific which regards physical phenomena as exclusively affording data for science. Very rightly, too, Mr. Lewes added that "each distinct science embraces a distinct portion of knowledge: mathematics treats of magnitude, and disregards all other relations; physics and chemistry concern themselves with the changes of inorganic bodies, leaving all vital relations to biology; sociology concerns itself with the relations of human beings among each other, and with their relations to human beings in the past and in the future;" and, he might have added to the enumeration, theology is occupied with the investigation of the facts of religion and their relations, and with this class of facts alone. "The peculiarities of science are these," says Professor Bain,[1] another recognised exponent of the theory of science: "first, it employs special means and appliances to render knowledge true" (in other words, science desires, we may say, to deal with facts); "secondly, knowledge, in the form of science, is made as general as possible" (from facts

[1] *Logic*, Deduction, p. 23.

science strives to reach laws); "thirdly, a science embraces a distinct department of the world, or groups together facts and generalities that are of a kindred sort" (science must have unity by limiting its view for scientific purposes to the same class of facts); "fourthly, a science has a certain order or arrangement of topics, suitable to its ends in gathering, verifying, and in communicating knowledge" (affiliation is of the essence of science). But if all this be so, does not theology deal with facts—does it not endeavour to pass from facts to laws—does it not consist of a genus of facts sufficiently well defined—and are not arrangement and affiliation peculiarly evident in its results? Certainly science is not mere learning, the literary accumulations of the scholar, nor are arts like navigation, engineering, metallurgy, agriculture, and we will add, like Sunday-school teaching or the cure of souls, to be named sciences, since they are simply the practical applications of science. Nevertheless, science is not defined by its subject-matter, but by its method. Everything is science which results from the blended use of observation, classification, inference, and arrangement. In every science, indeed, there are four factors,—data, ideas, unity, and order; there are facts or the results of observation, there are ideas or inferences legitimately drawn from the facts by the reason, there is unity or the limitation of view to related facts and inferences, and there is order, or the arrangement in a luminous and concatenated series of those facts and inferences. No accumulation of observations upon the ultimate elements of the universe could alone constitute the science of chemistry; no mass of details as to the sun and moon and stars could rightly be called the science of astronomy. To deserve the name of science the related facts must not only be described in words accurate and clear, but laws must be deduced from the facts so catalogued of more or less generality; in other words, the mind, which by its inherent faculties endeavours to mirror the external world and its laws, must supply connecting ideas derived from the observed data. As Kant said, "*Begriffe ohne Anschauungen sind leer, und Anschauungen ohne Begriffe sind blind,*" or, as we might permissibly translate, "ideas without facts are *empty*, and facts without ideas are *blind*." Not only

so, but the facts and ideas must be arranged with a unity and in an order which is itself of considerable auxiliary force, sometimes being probative, but always suggestive. No mere orderly arrangement of related facts, however, amounts to a science. Historical facts arranged in chronological order are bare annals; they must be understood in their relations of cause and effect if they are to form historical science. What valid reason is there therefore for denying the name of science to theology, dealing as it does in orderly and rational manner with the Christian and other religions, their records, their beliefs, their practices? Seeing that a science consists of four factors,—data, generalizations, harmonious view, and consecutive arrangement, how shall the name of science be withheld from theology? Theology is not a mere knowledge of facts, nor a knowledge of facts arranged in an orderly manner, nor a knowledge of a limited class of facts, nor is it only a series of rigorous inferences from the related facts; theology is all these combined. Like every science, theology is a compound of related facts or data or observations, related ideas or laws or generalizations, appropriate order or arrangement or concatenation. Having observed with scrupulous care the facts with which it is concerned, theology accurately describes them, marshals them, reasons from them, and presents the results arrived at in such a way as to exhibit the internal relations of those facts, one to another and each to all. Theology, as Schleiermacher contended, is a *positive science*, a science, that is to say, based on observed facts and logical inference; as much a positive science, let us add, as physiology. Human physiology, to take a branch of the whole for convenience, is an appropriate arrangement of the facts pertaining to the physical structure of man in a dynamical state, together with certain laws, or general propositions, inferrible by strict logical processes from those facts: Christian theology, to speak of a part of the wider science, is an appropriate arrangement of the facts pertaining to that form of religion called Christianity, as well as of the general propositions or doctrines, inferrible by strict logical processes from those facts. That the general proposition is called a *law* in physiology and a *doctrine* in theology is simply a matter of

custom; it is equally a matter of habit that theology should not be called a science. It is the method only which differentiates science from other knowledge; and any branch of knowledge, even though it deal with superhuman things, which proceeds according to that distinctive method, has a right to the name of science. And this position has been assented to by so great a physicist as Professor Huxley, who wrote in the first volume of the *Nineteenth Century:* "By science I understand all knowledge which rests upon evidence and reasoning of a like character to that which claims our assent to ordinary scientific propositions; and if any man is able to make good the assertion that his theology rests upon valid evidence and sound reasoning, then it appears to me that such theology must take its place as a part of science."

§ 9.

IS THEOLOGY A PHILOSOPHY?

THEOLOGY *then is a science, the science of religion; is it also a philosophy?* Define philosophy, and as in the preceding section, a reply will be possible.

What then is philosophy? Alas! in the English language, as Professor Bowen has again reminded us,[1] philosophy may mean almost anything apparently; for not only do we describe sciences like logic and psychology, which deal directly with the human mind, as branches of philosophy, but it is customary to speak of a philosophy of medicine, of chemistry, of law, of history, of religion. Even physicists till very recently had no name for their pursuits but natural philosophy, the very thing which it is not. Occasionally we even read of a philosophy of gymnastics, of ship-building, and of cookery. It was not without some reason, therefore, that Hegel sarcastically remarked that if Socrates brought philosophy down from the clouds, the English had degraded her to the kitchen.

There are two methods of definition commonly adopted for so abstract a term. On the one hand, the word may be defined by enumerating its contents, and on the other hand by describing its essence. Employing the method of enumeration, philosophy is often said by English writers to consist of logic, the science of the laws of thought, and psychology, the science of mind in general. Even in such a statement definition by essence seems to rule, for it is because both logic and psychology deal with problems mental rather than physical that they are regarded as philosophical sciences. But these two branches of study have no exclusive right to be esteemed mental sciences. Ethics, the science of morals,

[1] *Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann*, by Francis Bowen. New York and London 1877.

should at least be added. Nor can the enumeration be closed with moral philosophy. There is a philosophy of art, to say nothing of a philosophy of religion, such branches of mental inquiry being actually prosecuted, and under these names. Whether such designations are correct or not will depend on the conception framed of philosophy. Thus, as usual in the last resort, definition by enumeration bases itself upon definition by the unfolding of essence.

What then is the essential element in the conception of philosophy? Replies are almost as numerous as writers. At least replies vary more or less with every philosophical system. Spinoza is no more at one with his master Descartes than with Lessing, his popularizer. Hume differs from Kant, whom he inspired, whereas Kantian views aroused but did not satisfy Fichte and Schelling. Nevertheless, under the constant necessity for the limitation of language as knowledge increases, it is possible to show, with all the multiplicity of replies, a growing unanimity and precision. A *brief survey of the history* of this important word will enable the reader to see what truth there is in this averment, and at the same time to infer for himself the different views, which have been held by varying schools of thought, upon the relations of theology and philosophy.

Pythagoras, according to Cicero, who derived his information from Heraclides Ponticus, a scholar both of Plato and Aristotle, was the first to call himself a philosopher. The story has been retold by Sir William Hamilton. "Pythagoras, once upon a time" (says the Roman orator), "having come to Phlius, a city of Peloponnesus, displayed in a conversation which he had with Leon, who then governed that city, a range of knowledge so extensive that the prince, admiring his eloquence and ability, inquired to what art he had principally devoted himself. Pythagoras answered, that he professed no art, and was simply a *philosopher*. Leon, struck by the novelty of the name, again inquired who were the philosophers, and in what they differed from other men. Pythagoras replied, that human life seemed to resemble the great fair, held on occasion of those solemn games which all Greece met to celebrate. For some, exercised in athletic contests, resorted

thither in quest of glory and the crown of victory; while a greater number flocked to them in order to buy and sell, attracted by the love of gain. There were a few, however,—and they were those distinguished by their liberality and intelligence,—who came from no motive of glory or of gain, but simply to look about them, and to take note of what was done, and in what manner. So, likewise, continued Pythagoras, we men all make our entrance into this life on our departure from another. Some are here occupied in the pursuit of honours, others in the search of riches; a few there are who, indifferent to all else, devote themselves to an inquiry into the nature of things. These, then, are they whom I call students of wisdom, for such is meant by philosopher."[1] The anecdote rests on slender authority. But if Cicero is probably wrong in ascribing the origination of the word to Pythagoras, Sir William Hamilton is probably right in ascribing that origin to Socrates. Be that as it may, *on its first employment philosophy bore a much wider meaning than it does to-day; the philosopher was the lover of wisdom, and philosophy was the wisdom he loved.* The word had already become a technical term *among the disciples of Socrates,* being used, as it is desirable to notice, in *a double sense.* According to *a narrower meaning, philosophy was synonymous with what we should call metaphysics,* or ontology, the science of being as such, not of any department of existence. In *a wider usage, philosophy was equivalent to what is now called science,* systematized knowledge. As instances of the narrower use, Plato defines those as philosophers, in the *Republic,* "who set their affections on that which in each case really exists" (*τοὺς αὐτὸ ἄρα ἕκαστον τὸ ὂν ἀσπαζομένους φιλοσόφους κλητέον*); and Aristotle defines his first philosophy (*Πρώτη φιλοσοφία*) as the knowledge of that which really is (*τὸ ὂν ᾗ ὄν*). As examples of the wider significance, let the following instances suffice. Plato speaks, in the *Theætetus,* "of geometry or any other philosophy" (*περὶ γεωμετρίαν ἤ τινα ἄλλην φιλοσοφίαν*), thus classing philosophy with mathematics; and Aristotle states, in his *Metaphysics,* that philosophy in the wider sense is science in general, including mathematics, physics, ethics, and poetics. The need

[1] *Lectures on Metaphysics,* vol. i. p. 46.

of specialization having thus early asserted itself, it re-appeared again and again; "wisdom," "knowledge," "science" might do for the larger use, but "philosophy" was too useful a word, in the growth and subdivision of intellectual pursuits, not to restrict it to denote new studies not readily expressed. Already in the two great philosophical schools which subsequently divided Greek civilisation, a narrower definition was advocated. Thus, according to Plutarch, the Stoics regarded "wisdom" (*σοφία*) as the knowledge of human things, and *φιλοσοφία* as the striving after virtue, making philosophy synonymous with ethics. Epicurus equally made philosophy synonymous with moral science, although he defined morality according to his characteristic mode of thought. Such were the several views of the ancient world, and they were repeated more or less by heathen writers and Christian until the dawn of the modern era. Throughout there is a perceptible tendency to confine philosophy, not to knowledge in general, nor to knowledge of great practical bearing (which is wisdom), nor to knowledge made accurate and orderly (which is science), but to knowledge which originates in the mind, which is inward not outward, the product of reflection not observation; and this tendency, in the specialization of names demanded by specialization of inquiry, becomes yet more evident in the modern era.

Advancing to modern times, there have been *many writers* who *have employed the word philosophy where science would have done equally well*, converting into a synonym a word which has a very distinct value of its own. Thus Hobbes regarded philosophy as "the science of effects by their causes;" Wolff described philosophical knowledge as "the knowledge of those things which are or which become, and which enables us to understand why they are and become;" to Leibnitz philosophy was "the science of sufficient reasons," and to Condillac "the science of things sensible and abstract." *Other writers*, amongst whom Sir William Hamilton is prominent, *have regarded philosophy and psychology as convertible terms*. There is an important element of truth in this view, which has been adopted and expanded by *a third class*, who, remarking the peculiar feature of psychology, namely its

concern with consciousness and not with the external world, have so enlarged this introspective distinction that they *have arrived at the view that philosophy is not the science of external nature, but the science of nature as itself systematized by the conscious mind*,—" the science of science," as Fichte said; " the science of principles," as Ueberweg expresses it; " completely unified knowledge," as the same idea is put by Spencer; " the systematization of the conceptions furnished by theology and science," as G. H. Lewes phrased the underlying conception of Comte and the Positivists. Largely correct as is this view, correct, that is to say, as a summary of the unexpressed idea which governs our modern usage, it falls short in one serious particular. From a lack of precision it would be possible to regard philosophy, as has actually been done intentionally or unconsciously, as an encyclopædic view of all the sciences. This has certainly not been intended by the advocates of this third view, and it is also contrary to usage. By the " science of science " has been meant that knowledge which the mind by its own processes has deduced from the accumulated facts and inferences embodied in the various sciences. This exact view of philosophy has been well put by *Kant*: " *Philosophy*," said he, " *is the system* of all the branches of philosophical knowledge, that is, *of all knowledge rationally cognized* through concepts as such," a definition which, translated into plain English, means, that philosophy is all systematic knowledge afforded by the workings of the mind as apart from the external world. Philosophy, in short,—and the definition harmonizes with the common and the technical employment of the word,—is the result of a purely mental process. All science, including philosophy, is the product of observation and experiment, physical science being the product of experiment and observation upon the world without us, philosophy being the product of experiment and observation upon the world within us. The physicist questions the universe and not his intellect, the philosopher questions his intellect and not the universe. In natural science reason works among things and their relations; in philosophy reason works among thoughts and their relations. The organ of science is both external and internal perception; the organ of philosophy is introspection alone. This seems to

be the idea in our minds when we use the words philosophy, philosopher, philosophical. A philosopher is a thinker as such. Philosophy is the product of thought proper. Philosophical is that which displays thought rather than research.

According to this definition every science has its philosophy. There is a justness in speaking of the philosophy of chemistry, or law, or history. Not that the facts concerning the elementary bodies which constitute the universe, or the facts concerning the legal arrangements of mankind, or the facts concerning the succession of human events, can be dignified by such a name as philosophy. The philosophical part of a science, as distinct from the positive part, is what has been supplied by the mind when it has occupied itself with those facts. By careful and brilliant introspection into the facts of chemistry as marshalled in the mind, the mind arrives at the several laws of combination by weight and by volume, and suggests the atomic theory; by careful introspection, not unallied with that rapidity and saltation which we call genius, into the facts of history as classified in the mind, the mind formulates suggestive laws, such as those which have been popularized by Lessing in his tractate on the Education of the Race, which have been more exhaustively treated by Schlegel and Comte, and which have thrown new light upon those compends of the philosophy of history, the Books of Daniel and the Revelation of John. Science consists of facts, ideas, and order, we have said; the ideas and the order belong to philosophy.

Attaching the name philosophy therefore to the product of the speculative reason, the relations between theology and philosophy become evident. Like the physical sciences, theology is a science of facts, a positive science, the science of the facts of religion; but like the physical sciences also, theology contains laws or inferences, order or method, as well as facts, and these ideas and this arrangement constitute the philosophical portion of theology. Not only so, but like the mental sciences, theology has sections, and large sections, which can only be investigated by prolonged attention to the personal religious consciousness, and here again a philosophical element shows itself. Whatever in theology results from a purely mental process, whether it be the high argument for

the Being of God, or the profound analysis of the phases of salvation of which we are conscious, is philosophy. Not that theology can be studied by the philosophical method of introspection alone, as some have thought, for neither the facts of Christianity nor any other great religion can be evolved from the individual consciousness. A philosophy of religion, using the word in its subjective sense, might be written by a gigantic effort of speculation, by the minute study of the data afforded by the religious faculty; but such a philosophy of religion would be only a small branch of theology, which deals with records and churches, creeds and practices, as well as the personal experience of the philosopher. Philosophy, then, is the product of the exercise of the reason pure and simple; theology is the product of the reason as exercised upon the facts presented by religion to the reason. Whatever in theology, whether data, or inference, or arrangement, results from the reason as such, pertains to philosophy. Here again a growing usage is capable of explanation. It is quite in harmony with the above view that the study of the subjective facts of religion is called "the philosophy of religion," whilst the examination of both the objective and subjective facts of religion, and sometimes of the objective facts alone, is commonly called the science of religion.

Philosophy, therefore, is the handmaid of theology. For, first, it is the true office of philosophy to supply to theology all that reflection can teach concerning the religious nature, possibilities, and needs of man. Secondly, it is the true office of philosophy in its relations to theology to apprehend, classify, and infer, wherever possible, to put constantly in motion all the logical engines of simple apprehension, judgment, and reasoning; for, like all other sciences, theology must concede to reason that it shall shape all definitions, judge all evidence, and investigate all branches of logical laws. But theology is not philosophy under another garb. For, like every other science, theology is at liberty to offer for philosophical judgment any facts of its own whatever, quite irrespective of whether they have arisen from introspection or not. Philosophy, for example, may judge of revelation, it must not prejudge it.

§ 10.

PLACE OF THEOLOGY IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES.

THAT theology then is a science, however repulsive the assertion to some thinkers, cannot be doubted, if the definition of a science be borne in mind. A science is an orderly examination and statement of all the facts relating to a given subject, and of the inferences those facts warrant; and if it is indubitable that there are large masses of facts pertaining to religion, as indubitably those facts may be investigated by the common scientific method of combined observation, classification, induction, and deduction, and the results attained may be expressed in clear and concatenated propositions. This being evident, *the next task is to allot to theology its appropriate place in a complete view of the realms of accurate and ordered knowledge.* Let some attempt be therefore made to classify the several sciences known to man, denoting at the same time the position to be assigned to theology. Nor is this task, difficult as it is because of the vast extent of ascertained knowledge, a mere sport for the curious. Such a classification is a question of the most practical bearing,—for two reasons, the first economical, and the second educational. On the one hand, the details of human knowledge have become so vast as to demand some logical method and arrangement for their due grasp and remembrance, seeing that it is impossible for the intellect to become a sort of encyclopædia of knowledge alphabetically arranged. On the other hand, there is a true order of study, necessarily missed if a logical arrangement of knowledge be unattained, an order which when observed conducts by the straightest road to proficiency. "There never was in truth more need of a right classification than at the present moment; as mere mental and social phenomena the masses of human knowledge have become too vast and complex to be

advantageously treated without some method and arrangement, whilst as intellectual pursuits they are so logically connected and interwoven that no one of them can be intelligently cultivated without regard to the rest." [1] In prosecuting this next task, an outline and criticism of some of the leading classifications proposed by others may help, premising, however, that a suitable arrangement of the sciences must obey the great logical laws of division; it must be governed by some principle, it must be governed by a single principle, there must be no cross divisions, and the division must be exhaustive.

Beginning with an example which is now of little more than a historical value, it is interesting to remember that the great organizing mind of ARISTOTLE, in his *Metaphysics*, divided all "philosophy" (by which he meant scientific knowledge) into *theoretical*, *practical*, and *poetical*. By *theoretical* he meant the scientific knowledge of existing things; by *practical*, that which related to action or conduct; by *poetical*, the artistic, that which is concerned with the shaping of material. These leading divisions were again subdivided by him and his followers. Poetical philosophy was scarcely touched. Practical philosophy was divided into ethics, politics, œconomics, rhetoric, and generalship. Theoretical philosophy he divided into physics or the study of nature, mathematics or the study of number, and theology (also called first philosophy and metaphysics) which treated of form or end, matter or substance, causes in short, culminating in theology proper or the knowledge of God. Logic was apparently included in theology. Suggestive as is the exposition, there is little severity in saying that it is antiquated, that its divisions are manifestly cross, and, as tested by present knowledge, incomplete. However, one great virtue remains; the scientific mind of Aristotle recognised, at any rate, that any scientific classification must result from an examination of the actual relations existing in nature between the subject-matters of the several sciences, not in any

[1] Shields, *The Order of the Sciences, an Essay on the Philosophical Classification and Organization of Human Knowledge*. New York 1882. The whole book will repay careful study, as will the chapter on the "Organization of the Sciences," in the first volume of Fiske's *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, and the first Appendix in Bain's *Logic*, Part I., "Deduction."

mere intellectual conception as to their relations which existed only in the mind. In this clear perception of his he gave us one feature of a permanent classification, that it must follow the order of nature. However, the time had not yet come for the co-ordination of the sciences. Indeed, such a co-ordination belongs to an advanced period of the development of knowledge. As has been acutely said, "Each of the sciences must at least have found a name and place in human estimation, in order that all the classifiable objects may be fully before us; and even then it would be the height of presumption and conceit to imagine that by one stroke of genius they could be marshalled into perfect order. Not only must we begin with an unprejudiced survey of the whole existing mass of scientific knowledge, but we must patiently examine the classifications of our predecessors, carefully weigh their merits and defects, cull out the sound principles which have survived their failures, and combine them with any we have to contribute, and then be content to regard our favourite scheme as still but tentative and approximate,—in short, we must pursue the same modest experimental method by which we arrive at all scientific truth." [1]

Passing from the old to the birth of the new era, BACON gave the following arrangement in his *Advancement of Learning*, adopted, be it noted, by D'Alembert in the famous French Encyclopædia. His principle of division was the three great modes of intellectual apprehension—memory, reason, and imagination. Hence he portioned knowledge into history, philosophy, and poetry; history, the product of memory as he thought, dealing with individual things; philosophy, the products of reason, comparing, classifying, and elaborating these materials; poetry, the product of imagination, the department of fiction, fable, or creativeness, as opposed to the literal rendering of things in history and philosophy. History he then subdivided into natural history, or the collective matters of fact concerning the universe, laid out under celestial bodies, meteors, the earth, etc., and civil history, distributed into ecclesiastical, literary, and political. Philosophy he regarded as referring to God, to nature, and to man; know-

[1] Shields, *The True Order of the Sciences.* New York 1882.

ledge of God giving us theology, knowledge of nature supplying mathematics, natural philosophy, and metaphysics; whilst knowledge of man afforded, in his view, the doctrine of man in general, the doctrine of the human body, and the doctrine of the human mind. This Baconian arrangement is also of little more than historical value, as a system at any rate being obsolete. Every law of logical division is broken. If there is one principle of division in the main sections, there are several principles in the sub-sections; some of the divisions are cross; naturally enough also, remembering the date of the classification, there are conspicuous omissions, as judged by present knowledge; nay, the psychology which suggested the division is now discredited; and yet again sciences and arts are confused together under the same general titles, metaphysics appearing side by side with practical astronomy, and applied mechanics with civil history; while, most disastrously of all, Bacon is seen to forsake an order based on an examination of the relations between the sciences themselves for an order based on the constitution of the viewing mind, an instructive instance of the fascination of the subjective method.

The scheme of subjects devised by COLERIDGE and adopted by the editors of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* (the publication of which commenced in 1815) deserves mention. There are four divisions in the work. The first division includes pure sciences, again divided into formal—grammar, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, metaphysics; and real—laws, morals, and theology. The second division is the mixed sciences—mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, astronomy. The third division is the applied sciences, subdivided into experimental philosophy, magnetism, electricity, heat, light, chemistry, acoustics, meteorology, geodesy, fine arts, useful arts, natural history. The fourth division is a miscellaneous one, containing history, geography, lexicography, and nondescript information. Here again another instance is seen of the viciousness of a subjective principle, for the arrangement stands or falls with the Kantian metaphysics; further, even this suspicious principle is not adhered to in the subordinate divisions. An encyclopædia might be arranged on so artificial a plan, but not a classification of the sciences of any scientific or educational value.

Unquestionably the greatest advance towards a classification of the sciences was made by AUGUSTE COMTE in his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* (1830–1842),[1] this advance being due to his investigation into the relations between the sciences themselves rather than into the relations these sciences received in his own mind. Hegel has given us the most consistent and extravagant instance of the application of the subjective principle, an instance which has been not too severely called "the boast of the metaphysician and the scandal of the scientist." Comte clave to the objective method of classification, diligently inquiring how the sciences themselves seemed to point the way to their arrangement. And Comte clave, too, more persistently than his predecessors to the distinction between scientific and non-scientific knowledge. "The most general division of our real knowledge," said he, "is into theoretical and practical." Knowledge is either theory or art, scientific or applied, in his view; and he rigidly restricts his attention to theoretical, scientific knowledge. This distinction seized, Comte proceeds to classify the sciences themselves. As he reminds us, the necessary questions concern the number and the disposition of the sciences, and the disposition not less than the number, seeing that, as Comte points out, if there are six leading sciences they might be arranged in no less than seven hundred and twenty different ways. The method adopted is this, first, to define the sciences by their subject-matters, and then to arrange them in the order of their simplicity or generality. To use Comte's own words, "It is then with the study of the phenomena the most general or the most simple that we must commence, whilst advancing successively to phenomena which are more complicated or more particular." Accordingly the scheme suggested is as follows:—It consists of three divisions, viz. the abstract sciences, or the several branches of mathematics, the sciences of non-organized bodies, or astronomy, physics, and chemistry, and the sciences of organized bodies, or physiology and sociology. In this arrangement Comte claims that he has arranged the sciences in "the order of their natural concatenation, by following their mutual dependence,

[1] *Philosophie Positive*, vol. i., deuxième leçon.

in such a way in fact that they may be expounded successively without being dragged into a vicious circle." As Comte maintains, mathematics stands first, because it must be studied first; neither organized nor inorganic bodies can be investigated without mathematics. Sociology demands a knowledge of physiology, physiology involves chemistry, chemistry begins with physics, physics implicate astronomy, and astronomy postulates mathematics. The progressing complexity from mathematics to sociology regulates his disposition of the sciences. The sciences are classified by Comte according as they are more general (simple) or more particular (complex). "The succession," as he says, "is determined by a subordination necessary and invariable, founded, independently of all hypothesis, upon the simple but careful examination of the corresponding phenomena. The first branch of the classification considers the most general, the most simple, the most abstract phenomena, those the most remote from humanity; they influence all the branches, without being influenced by them. The phenomena considered by the last branch are, on the contrary, the most particular, the most complicated, the most concrete, and the most directly interesting for man; they depend, more or less, on all the preceding branches, without exercising on them any influence." Comte contended, further, that not only did this arrangement pass logically from the simpler phenomena to the more complex, but that it also conformed to the real development of the several sciences, mathematics having been first raised to the rank of a science, and sociology last: whilst this arrangement displayed, he thought, yet a third feature, that it marked exactly the relative perfection of the several sciences; physiology, for example, being less precise than chemistry, chemistry than physics, and physics than pure mathematics. Further, such an arrangement suggested, he said, "the true general plan of a scientific education entirely rational." It seems ungrateful to criticise this scheme of Comte's, for it is manifestly based on a correct principle, a principle, too, which had been deliberately adopted by Descartes and suggested by Aristotle. Nevertheless there was inconsistency in the application of the principle, for, as the recent discoveries of spectrum

analysis have shown, the study of physics, as it should follow mathematics, should precede astronomy. There were also manifest omissions in Comte's scheme, for he has no place for logic, psychology, and philology for example, to say nothing of theology, which, like psychology, he rejected on subjective grounds. The great opponent of bias in scientific research found the conditions of life too clinging to shake off all prejudice. No gap, in his view, divides man from the brute, no mental gap, no religious gap.

Comte's scheme tabulated would be as follows :—

Classification (Hierarchy) of the Sciences.

I.	Mathematics.	
II.	Astronomy,	Inorganic Sciences.
III.	Physics,	
IV.	Chemistry,	
V.	Physiology,	Organic Sciences.
VI.	Social Physics,	

Thus, then, we have learnt that a classification of the sciences should cleave to scientific as distinct from non-scientific knowledge, should eschew any merely subjective principle of division, should find its principle of division in examining the relations actually existing between the sciences themselves, and should proceed from the more simple to the more complex phenomena, thus observing at once the order of the relative development of the sciences and the rational order of study. To illustrate these lessons let an additional classification of some intrinsic interest be noticed. Amongst his other philosophical pursuits, Mr. HERBERT SPENCER has given us a pamphlet on the classification of the sciences, containing an elaborate novel classification, as well as some pertinent criticisms of the scheme of Comte. Spencer distinguishes three orders of sciences, — the abstract, the abstract-concrete, and the concrete, "these three groups of sciences" being "respectively accounts of *aggregates*, accounts of *properties*, accounts of *relations*," and being not serial, as Comte described, but collateral. In place of Comte's linear series of ascending ranks, Mr. Spencer "would substitute three collateral groups of sciences, one distinguishable from another according to the degree of their logical abstractness,—

the abstract sciences, the abstract-concrete sciences, and the concrete sciences; the first to include sciences of ideal relations, viewed apart from all facts, such as logic and mathematics; the second to include sciences of real relations, implicated in certain classes of facts, such as mechanics, physics, and chemistry; and the third to include sciences of aggregated facts, involving both ideal and real relations, such as astronomy, geology, and biology. These groups, though not to be put in a serial order, are further defined as instrumental with respect to one another, the first with respect to the second and third, and the second with respect to the third only, while they furnish material to one another in inverse order, the third to the second, and the second and third to the first." According to Mr. Spencer, science consists *either of* that which treats of the forms in which phenomena are known to us, abstract science, divisible into logic and mathematics, *or* of that which treats of phenomena themselves. In the latter cases sciences deal with phenomena in their elements, or in their totalities; the former he calls abstract-concrete sciences, which are mechanics, physics, and chemistry, and the latter he calls concrete sciences, viz. astronomy, geology, biology, psychology, and sociology; with the several subdivisions we need not concern ourselves. Mr. Fiske has tabulated the scheme as follows:—

Classification of the Sciences.

I. Abstract Sciences, dealing with relations, that are	qualitative; . . .	Logic.
	quantitative; . . .	Mathematics.
II. Abstract Concrete Sciences, dealing with *properties*, that are manifested	in movements of masses; .	Molar Physics.
	in movements of molecules, *and* in aggregations of molecules that are homogeneous; . . .	Molecular Physics.
	in aggregations of molecules that are heterogeneous; .	Chemistry.
III. Concrete Sciences, dealing with *aggregates* (with their properties and relations), as actually exemplified	in stellar and planetary systems; . . .	Astronomy.
	in the earth; . . .	Geology.
	in living organisms; . .	Biology.
	in the functions which adjust organic actions to specific relations in the environment;	Psychology.
	in the mutual relations of living organisms grouped into communities; .	Sociology.

Criticising this scheme, the elegance and perspicuity of which have been much praised, the acute remark of Mr. J. S. Mill must be borne in mind, that it is an attempt to classify the sciences not according to their subject-matter or mutual relations, but according to an unimportant difference in the manner in which we come to know them, the vicious subjective method again intruding. Further, what can be made of abstract-concrete sciences, seeing that we might as lucidly speak of true-false or animate-inanimate sciences? As in Comte's scheme also there are some manifest omissions, notably of the whole range of theological sciences.

The task then of classifying the sciences resolves itself into, first, obtaining a complete list of the leading branches of science, and *secondly,* so examining the relations of co-ordination or subordination actually existing amongst these several sciences as to become assured as to the existence or non-existence of some principle of division really inherent in these sciences. Now the sciences are nothing but the facts of the universe systematically investigated, and all the facts of the universe are to be found under the several heads which follow, — facts of quantity, facts of force, facts of elements, facts of the heavenly bodies, facts of the earth, facts of life, facts of mind, facts of society, facts of religion. These then are the several branches of science, mathematics or the science of quantity, physics or the sciences of the natural forces, chemistry or the science of the natural elements, astronomy or the science of the heavenly bodies, geology or the science of the structure of the earth, biology or the science of life, mental science or the science of mind, sociology or the science of society, theology or the science of religion. These several divisions are exhaustive, and they are not cross. The facts of number and space are not identical with the facts of force; atomic facts which are called chemical cannot be confounded with atomic facts which are called biological; if geology appears to be but a section of astronomy, there are manifest advantages in keeping the two fields of the heavens and the earth distinct; man cannot be satisfactorily treated under biology, for mind and life are not identical; nor can theology be classed as a section of

sociology, seeing that religion introduces a new class of facts. But the further question arises, whether any relations can be discovered in these several sciences which may enable us to arrange them under one principle of division. Now there is a principle of order manifestly governing these various sciences. As Comte so suggestively showed, some of these sciences are much more complex than others, this complexity revealing itself, first, in the compulsory order of study, secondly, in the relative progress made in each science, and thirdly, he might have added, in the actual order of creative succession. To illustrate the first point, no man can study physics without some knowledge of mathematics; the chemist must have formed the prior acquaintance of the sciences both of number and force; astronomy demands a familiarity with the laws of number, those of force, and those of chemical combination; biology is more complex than any of the preceding, requiring a constant acquaintance with the data of physics and chemistry; and the problems of anthropology are still more intricate, necessitating frequent appeal to the problems of life, of the cosmos, and of the molecular forces; if man is a difficult study, is not man in society more difficult? Whereas the science of religion presupposes and crowns all the other branches of inquiry, finding data for judgment in them all, whilst supplying abundant new data. Here then we have touched a natural interrelation. The laws of mathematics are the simplest in this sense that they may be investigated apart from all other sciences; the laws of physics are less simple than those of mathematics, but more simple than those of chemistry, seeing that the facts of number are implied in the facts of force, whereas the facts of the combination of chemical force are, as far as we know, not essential to a knowledge of the laws of force; similarly astronomy is less simple than chemistry, seeing that chemistry may be studied quite apart from astronomy, whereas the converse does not hold; and to pass over the intermediate sciences, and to come to the most complex branch of all, the entire solution of the problems of theology draws upon the conclusions of the sciences of society, of man, of the terrestrial and celestial phenomena, of force, and

even of quantity. Each preceding science can be carried to its full completion without trenching on theological ground, whereas theology cannot be perfected without utilizing conclusions derived from the revelation of God in inanimate and animate nature, in man, whether regarded alone or in the aggregate, and even in the simplest and most general of all sciences, the sciences of number and space. Under the second point, the relative progress in the study of the sciences, Comte has accumulated many facts. And as to the third point, to the theologian, indeed, there is even a succession in time in these several main branches of science. In mathematics the nearest approach is made to laws which precede, yet condition all creation; in the sciences of force the earliest laws impressed upon creation, as we know it, are seen,—the laws of chemical combination seeming also to be interwoven in the structure of the present universe; further, mathematics, physical and chemical laws, are presupposed in the structure of the stellar systems; yet again, the solar system, and our earth, appear to have been preceded in time by the stellar systems, as well as by the laws of all kinds they presuppose; certainly man is the last phase of created life known to us; finally, social doctrines imply the prior existence of man, and theological doctrines, the prior existence of man in society. The universe of to-day is a great divine synthesis, the combined result of innumerable collateral laws, these laws themselves being by no means equally simple, but being themselves syntheses of more elementary laws; and if the universe is to be understood, it is as necessary that the mutual influence of laws be investigated as the characteristics of the laws themselves. Hence analysis must extend its researches into the natural order, as well as into the natural facts. Indeed, the theologian does not hesitate to say that the study of the several branches of science is the study of the divine ideas and the divine nature which have been objectified for human examination.

Bearing in mind therefore the necessary distinction between the theory and application of science, between sciences like mathematics and geology, and arts like navigation and mining which are based thereon, the classification of the sciences

may be tabulated in a series of growing complexity somewhat as follows:—

I. Mathematics, or the sciences of quantity, subdivided into—
  (1) Science of number { Numbers specified—Arithmetic.
                        { ,, symbolized—Algebra.
  (2) ,, space —Geometry.
II. Physics, or the sciences of the natural forces, subdivided into—
  (1) Science of weight.
  (2) ,, sound.
  (3) ,, light.
  (4) ,, heat.
  (5) ,, magnetism.
  (6) ,, electricity.
  (7) ,, correlation of force.
III. Chemistry, or the sciences of the elements and their compounds.
IV. Astronomy, or the sciences of the heavenly bodies, subdivided into—
  (1) Sidereal astronomy.
  (2) Planetary ,,
V. Biology, or the science of living bodies.
VI. Geology, or the science of the earth.
VII. Pneumatology, or the science of mind.
  (1) Psychology, or science of mind as such.
  (2) Logic, ,, the true.
  (3) Ethics, ,, the good.
  (4) Æsthetics, ,, the beautiful.
  (5) Philology, ,, language.
VIII. Sociology, or the science of man in society.
IX. Theology, or the science of religion.

Such is the classification suggested by the present state of our knowledge. But there are indications of further simplifications. Chemistry may become a branch of physics, and geology a branch of astronomy, and the mental and social sciences, by further investigation, become united as branches of anthropology, or the science of man, leaving the classification of the sciences a classification under the great primary facts of number, force, life, man, and God.

Should this interrelation of the various sciences, which has rather been indicated than elaborately reasoned, hold, an additional argument appears for the distinctions which may be heaped upon theology. Not alone because it treats of the eternal relations of man, or of those relations as divinely revealed, is theology the "scientia scientiarum," the "caput

rerum," the "regina scientiarum;" theology also occupies the position of highest honour in the ranks of knowledge on scientific grounds, all other branches of human investigation being tributary thereto. There is not a variety of human knowledge, as will be seen more clearly in the next section, which has not its "gold and frankincense and myrrh" to offer as oblations at the birth of theology.

§ 11.

DIVISION OF THE THEOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

PASSING then from the classification of the several branches of science, which is of some, if subordinate, theological interest, as will be more clearly seen as we proceed, we come next to *the classification of the several branches of theology*, a subject of prime importance in such a systematic Introduction as this. The division of the theological sciences adopted must govern our whole exposition, for weal or woe, the arrangement itself if wise having considerable auxiliary value, and if inappropriate beclouding our study and hindering sure advance. Happily the conclusions already reached by theologians have erected some boundaries which cannot be removed. There are minor reasons also why the division of theology should engage our careful attention. The mapping-out of a science affords a very direct clue to the fundamental positions of the expositor, and therefore a criticism of the divisions advocated by prominent thinkers will make it possible for us to gain once for all a tolerable view of the contributions they have made to the systematization of our science. Besides, the discussion of the division of theology affords an excellent opportunity of becoming acquainted with theological nomenclature.

In the history of most sciences the practical interest has preceded the strictly scientific. In the order of time practical needs give birth to science, and science in turn expedites and enriches practice. So it has been in the history of theological introduction. It was the desire to provide handy guides to the theory and practice of the Christian pastorate which has mostly prompted the writing of Introductions to Theology, although in the nature of the case these introductions have become more and more scientific, that is to say,

more accurate, more orderly, and more reduced to principles. This scientific interest has not lessened of late years, and the many theological encyclopædias which have been published have been deliberately addressed to the scientific problem of due systematic arrangement, improvement in science being seen to be really the straightest course to improvement in practice. But there has been one limitation in the study of theological introduction since Schleiermacher, which has more or less cramped the study of theology, and it is well that this limitation should be explicitly recognised. Theology has been identified, — the remark applies to Germany rather than England, for England has scarcely awakened as yet to a scientific interest in theology,—the science of religion has been too largely identified abroad with the science of the *Christian* religion. For Schleiermacher natural theology had no place; the doctrine of God and His relations to humanity, which was accessible to the natural man, had nothing to do with the doctrine of God and His relations, based on the experimental knowledge of the regenerate man. Theology, as the science of Christian experience, had no dealings with theology as the science of religion not distinctly Christian. And this antagonism has not yet been eliminated from German and germane Introductions to Theology. Nor has this fault of system been innocuous; the science of religion has distinctly suffered from its identification with the science of Christian religion. The Bible itself, the *fons et judex* of Christianity, often takes for granted and appeals to the truth of natural religion, and Christian theology should be as wide as the Bible. For the Christian advocate to destroy the common ground which he has in the religious aspect of nature and of man is to harm his own cause; for, supposing the non-recognition of natural theology to be simply an error of system, error in science is certain sooner or later to become error in practice. The question of the systematic arrangement of theology will be advisably entered upon, therefore, after a brief historical survey of the systematic arrangements of others.

A very good instance of those introductions where the practical interest as such predominated is seen in the *Encyclopædia Theologica* of CLARISSE, already mentioned with approval.

Clarisse divided theological introduction into two parts,—general and special. In the general part the mental endowments and culture requisite for the erudite preacher were treated. The special part was again subdivided into two sections, the former of which dealt with the studies which were preparatory to theology, such as philology, history, philosophy; and the latter of which, the posterior section, treated of the several branches of theology itself. In the exposition of these branches he did not seriously differ from the fourfold division to be presently mentioned, and his full plan need not be transcribed. From so rapid a sketch, however, it will be seen how much more than a scientific introduction to theology the book professed to be. Of course that small part of its practical value that is not a consequence of its scientific remains.

Advancing to the days of the systematizations inaugurated by Schleiermacher, sometimes a dual, sometimes a triple, and sometimes and most frequently a quadruple division has been suggested. SCHLEIERMACHER'S own division was threefold. Theology, scientifically regarded, consisted of three branches, he said, philosophical (or theoretical, as we should say), historical, and practical. Philosophical theology includes apologetical theology, or the theory of the defence of Christianity, and polemical theology, or the theory of Christianity as an aggressive system of truth. Historical theology includes, he thought, first, exegetics, or the knowledge of primitive Christianity to be gained from its records; secondly, Church history, or the knowledge of the earthly career of Christianity; thirdly, the knowledge of the present condition of Christianity, primarily as to doctrine or dogmatic theology, secondarily as to social condition and extension (ecclesiastical statistics). Practical theology includes, Church service, such as the theory of liturgy, worship, preaching and pastoral care, and Church government. Our immediate concern is with the main division of theology, which Schleiermacher describes as threefold. But in this triple arrangement certain anomalies appear; for example, why should apologetical theology be designated philosophical, whilst dogmatic theology is regarded as a branch of historical theology? Surely the

defence of Christian truth must depend upon its dogmatic statement, and its doctrinal statement ought to be more than a phase in the history of Christianity. History is the record of ceaseless change, and it is a curious view of Christian doctrine which regards it in its least disputed forms as stable to-day and uncertain to-morrow, history as such being indifferent to truth and error, and its purpose being fulfilled if it records all phases of belief actually existent. The attitude of the doctrinal theologian is very different to the attitude of the historian; the latter is satisfied to chronicle what phases of opinion *have been;* the latter desires to state what phases of opinion *are true.* Again, exegesis occupies a very different standpoint to the historical; the investigator of Scripture is not content to describe what views of the Bible are held at present or have been held in the past, his purpose is to decide what views of the meaning of the Bible are correct; the historical view of Scripture catalogues interpretations, the exegetical view criticises them. The triple arrangement of Schleiermacher is a consequence of his fundamental conception, according to which Christian theology is simply a theology for professed Christians, a science of religion not true for all who reason, but only true for a class. Theology was to him not the science of Christian truth, but the science of Christian experience. As such, the experience of Christian life might be treated as a weapon of defence or of attack; forming theoretical theology; *or* it might be treated historically, and unfold what the first Christians believed, what any subsequent Christians believed, and what Christians believe at present; *or* it might be treated practically, utilizing Christian experience for public worship or private guidance. But there is a fundamental weakness in the view of the Christian believer who, instead of giving a reason for the faith which is in him, simply points to the fact that he has a faith. However, the method of Schleiermacher has had many exponents, prominent amongst whom have been Rosencranz, Kienlen, Noack, and Von Hofmann, and the latest of whom is Rothe in his posthumous work on theological encyclopædia.

Immediately the false positions of Biblical and dogmatic science are recognised in the scheme of Schleiermacher, the

triple division becomes fourfold. And the fourfold division has had by far the largest number of adherents. Indeed, so long as theology and Christian theology are identified, it seems impregnable as regards the number of divisions, although opinions may still differ as to the relative positions of the four constituent sciences. HAGENBACH has adopted this fourfold division, and both for its essential value and for its shortcomings his arrangement may be usefully sketched. According to his view, theology is divided into exegetical, historical, systematical, and practical. Exegetical theology is a knowledge of the sacred books of Christianity, presuming a knowledge, first, of their languages; secondly, of their criticism; thirdly, of their history; and fourthly, of their interpretation. Historical theology includes the history given in the Old and New Testaments, the theology of the Bible (that is to say, its various forms of doctrine), the history of the Christian Church, patristics or the study of the writings of the Fathers of the Church, symbolics or the study of the creeds, the archæology of the Christian Churches and their statistics. Under systematic theology Hagenbach included dogmatics, or the statement of Christian truth; apologetics, or Christian truth defended; polemics, or Christian truth utilized for attack; and ethics, or the science of Christian morals. Practical theology Hagenbach considered as embracing catechetics, or the theory of Christian education; liturgics, or the theory of worship; homiletics, or the theory of preaching, adding to this branch the theories of pastoral care and Church government. One manifest advance is made in such a fourfold arrangement. There is a scientific progress from the simpler to the more complex science. Exegetical theology is rightly made the basis of the remaining three; systematic theology demands a scientific knowledge both of the Bible and the history of the Church; and no theory of the pastoral life can be drawn without postulating again and again a knowledge of the conclusions of exegetical, historical, and systematic theology. The principal faults, as a classification of Christian theology, appear in the elaboration of the scheme and in nomenclature. Thus, taking the latter first, Biblical theology is a more appropriate name than exegetical, seeing that there may be a

science of the exegesis of any other book beside the Bible; again, pastoral theology is preferable to practical theology, inasmuch as the science meant is that of the pastoral office, and not of any general practice of theology, or of what would be conveyed by the term applied theology; even the name historical theology is not so precise as ecclesiastical theology. Further, in the elaboration of the scheme it is an error to put the science of the Bible in one division, and then to place Biblical history and Biblical theology, parts of the science of the Bible, under another division, historical theology. These shortcomings in elaboration have been clearly recognised by RAEBIGER, whose division runs as follows. There are four parts of theology in his view,—exegetical, historical, systematic, and practical, for these names of Hagenbach's he retains. Exegetical theology he regards as consisting in order, of Biblical hermeneutics, or the theory of Biblical interpretation, Biblical philology, Biblical criticism, Biblical antiquities, Biblical history, Biblical introduction, Biblical exegesis, Biblical theology, criticism of which subdivisions will follow in due course. Then Räbiger supposes historical theology to be composed of Church history in general, and of the several specific disciplines (viz. the history of missions, of the idea of the Church, of worship, of cultus, of doctrines, of creeds, of Fathers, of statistics). Then Räbiger distributes systematic theology into dogmatics and ethics, and practical theology into the doctrine of organization (politics, law), the doctrine of worship (liturgics, homiletics, catechetics, pastoral care), the doctrine of Church culture (missions, social life), and the doctrine of Church instruction (symbolology, or the science of creeds, and pædeutics, or the science of education). As Räbiger points out, this fourfold division has been adopted either instinctively or intelligently, amongst other writers, by J. Gerhard, A. Calov, A. H. Francke, Alsted, Ellies du Pin, Pfaff, Buddeus, Mosheim, Planck, Nösselt, Thym, Kleuker, Staudlin, Clarisse, Hagenbach, Harless, L. Lange, S. Erhardt, and Oberthür; he might have added the names of J. E. C. Schmidt, Franke, Karg, and Niemeyer; and since Räbiger wrote, the same quadruple division has been adopted by Zöckler and his coadjutors in their valuable *Handbook of the Theological Sciences.*

Further, the appropriateness of this fourfold division, so long as attention is confined to Christian theology, is indirectly substantiated by the fact that dual divisions can only be made by making three of the usual divisions into subdivisions under a single head. Thus GODET divides theology into two main parts—speculative and practical, meaning by the former the knowledge of salvation, and by the latter the art of saving men; but he is only able to do this by giving the generic name of speculative theology—with scant wisdom—to the three classes of exegetical, systematic, and historical theology. The same virtual substantiation of the fourfold division is seen in the dual divisions of Nösselt, Niemeyer, and Danz, each of whom virtually divides theology into a theoretical part, consisting of Biblical, historical, and doctrinal theology, and a practical part.

After this running criticism of previous classifications, it may be possible to lay down our own division. Before dealing with the order of the several theological sciences, *let us* FIRST *settle the number of the summa genera of theology.* Now theology being the science of religion in both the objective and subjective senses of the word, that is to say, theology being the science of what man knows of his supernatural relations, and of the subjective influence of that knowledge, it is manifest that one branch of theology is what has been called *natural theology.* Man experiences certain religious feelings, certain convictions of the supernatural, in presence of the natural world; he obtains from the visible universe some knowledge as to supernatural relations. The inferences of mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, geology, biology, and sociology do not exhaust all that man learns from the present sphere of his being. There are "high instincts before which our mortal nature trembles like a guilty thing surprised," "truths which wake to perish never," suggestions of the reason, conclusions as to a supernatural world framed by the stern methods of a resistless logic. As Chaucer said, "nature" becomes the "vicar of the Almightie Lord" as we go forth under the open sky, and list to her teachings, or as the author of the *Night Thoughts* expressed it, "the course of nature is the art of God." Nothing is at present said as to the amount or the

relative value of the knowledge man gains from nature of his supernatural relations; attention is simply drawn to the fact of the existence of such knowledge. If it can be investigated and systematized, natural theology must be one branch of theology.

Again, some knowledge of the supernatural relations of man, and of the subjective influence of such knowledge, can be gained from the study of the numerous religions of heathendom. Another source of religion (the formulation and orderly treatment of which is theology) is then the several religions outside of the faith of Judaism and Christianity, themselves religions of another kind, and therefore a second branch of theology is what may be called *ethnic theology*, the science of the extra-Biblical religious systems.

Yet again, that knowledge of the supernatural relations of man and of the subjective consequences of such knowledge, and knowledge of a very distinctive kind, is afforded by that combination of religious records called the Bible, is also a fact which calls for recognition in any division of theology. As a source or a record of religion, the Bible occupies a unique position amongst the sacred books of the race. The religious facts of the Bible cannot be confounded either with the religious data given in heathenism, or with those of the natural reason. Seeing that it is a cardinal principle of classification that different classes of facts shall not be massed together, it is necessary that the data of the Bible, as scientifically investigated, be placed in a distinct division, which may be not unsuitably called *Biblical theology*.

And yet again, just as God has spoken to man in nature, in the ethnic religions, and in the Bible, the divine voice is also heard in the history of the Christian Church. To the voice of reason, tradition, and revelation, our Heavenly Father has added the inspiration of the Church by His Spirit. Another series of facts to the Biblical, calling in turn for accurate and orderly investigation, presents itself in the history of the Christian Church. There, under the divine guidance, the revelations of God pass through varying phases of assimilation, and hence another branch of theology is that to which the name of historical, or more accurately, *ecclesiastical theology* has been applied.

Thus far the various classes of relations in which man consciously stands to the supernatural have been mentioned, viz. the relations to the supernatural in nature, to the supernatural in the various extra-Christian religions of the world, to the supernatural in the Bible, and to the supernatural in the experience of the Church. But from the comparison of these another branch of theology arises, sometimes called systematic theology, although, seeing that all scientific theology is systematic, the name is not very appropriate; perhaps a slightly better name would be *comparative theology*. The aim of this comparative theology is twofold, first, to determine the relative value and authority of the several sources of human knowledge of the supernatural (to which section of our science the name of fundamental theology might be applied); and secondly, in harmony with the results attained, to build up in a reasoned, complete, and systematic manner the various doctrines which express all that man knows of his supernatural relations (for which section doctrinal theology would be an appropriate name).

Yet another branch remains. A distinct profession exists with the aim of disseminating the doctrines of theology. To the theory of theology in its most mature form, this professional class adds the adaptation of the theory to practice. Now the various modes of practice, such as preaching, teaching, supervision, may be studied in a scientific manner, and hence arises that branch of our science to which the name of practical, or more accurately, *pastoral theology* has been applied.

But what, SECONDLY, *is the scientific order of study of these several branches?* Assuredly the scientific principle of division to be adopted in each section of science is the same as that which should be followed in the sciences generally; the several branches should so succeed each other that advance is made from the simpler to the more complex, a principle which has received sufficient elucidation and qualification in the preceding section. Now, seeing that pastoral theology implies the sciences the practical application of which it studies, pastoral theology evidently comes last in order. Again, remembering that comparative theology cannot proceed a step without the existence of the sciences the teachings of which

it compares, comparative theology comes last but one. Again, examining the several sciences which provide the data for the rational processes of comparative theology, it is evident that ecclesiastical theology, which shows us the assimilation by the Church of the revelations given in nature and in the Bible, must occupy a position subsequent to both Biblical and natural theology. Further, Biblical theology, or the study of the revelations given in Scripture, again and again assuming the knowledge to be derived from nature and heathenism, must follow both these branches, if a really progressive order of investigation be pursued. Lastly, natural theology is manifestly simpler than ethnic (that is to say, is capable of prior study).

Theology, then, the science of religion objective and subjective, or, more at length, the science of what man knows of his supernatural relations and of the influence of that knowledge upon him, may be classified as follows :—

Data for comparative theology,	I. Natural theology, or the science of natural religion.
	II. Ethnic theology, the science of ethnic religion.
	III. Biblical theology, or the science of Biblical religion.
	IV. Ecclesiastical theology, or the science of religion in the Christian Church.
Inductions of comparative theology,	V. Comparative theology, or the science which compares the results of the preceding sciences, and constructs therefrom a system of theological truth.
Application of comparative theology,	VI. Pastoral theology, or the science of the pastorate.

§ 12.

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE COURSE OF THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE.

LET another step be taken in our survey of theology generally. In the sequel each of the several branches of theology tabulated in the last section will have its historical review; here a brief outline only of the general course of Christian theology is given, very largely for its practical suggestiveness.

Nothing is clearer than that Christianity preceded its scientific study. Indeed, Christianity treated scientifically was neither the product of the Apostolic Age nor of the age immediately succeeding. The point is not unimportant. Facts are not science; data are not theories; and the Apostolic Age points the moral that Christian thought results from Christian life. Christian theology is a construction of the human intellect, having its origin in the necessity for unifying the truths and experiences presented by Christianity to the reason. Hence it is not surprising that in days like those a little later than the apostles, theology, as distinguished from religion, did not occupy the minds of many. Men must be Christians before they begin to think scientifically of Christianity. The life of man has many sides. He is a novice in the study of mankind who thinks that the only human interests are intellectual. The intellectual is neither the only nor the first concern. So far from being indispensable to a Christian life, theology is more its result than its cause. When the facts of Christianity are received with the spirit of a disciple, they proceed straightway to mould the character of the whole man; the will desires Christian activity, the emotional nature calls for Christian holiness, and the intellect craves Christian consistency. It is true that some knowledge of Christian things must precede the

acceptance of the elementary facts of the Christian religion; but this rudimentary knowledge is not, nor is it desired to be, a complete investigation of Christian theology. Truths are studied for the sake of salvation, not for their own sake. Undoubtedly men vary much in the preponderance of the several mental faculties, and some are more emotional, and some more active, and some more intellectual. A balanced mind is rare. Nevertheless, the first Christian interest even of the intellectually inclined is not with Christianity as scientifically presented. Practice precedes theory; experience antedates reflection. Indeed, before the need is strongly felt for systematic knowledge, the renewed mind must have already passed beyond the initial phase of more or less strong emotional sensibility with which the new birth first manifests itself. Love to Christ, for example, is prior to any formulation of a doctrine of that love. For such reasons it should cause no surprise that THE POST-APOSTOLIC AGE *was not given to theology.* The doctrinal statements received from the apostles expressed with sufficient precision the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, and in the intense realization of the redemption which was in Christ Jesus, deep feeling precluding and superseding exact science, the thinkers of that time had, as far as we know,—certainly the records are scanty,—no desire to express in logical form, and with suitable limitations, the truths which stirred them so deeply. He who has the inward testimony of the Spirit to the truth of what he believes, and who accepts the statements of Scripture and of his fellow-believers so long as they are not in contradiction to his inner testimony, may be a good Christian, though no theologian; and it is well to bear the fact in mind. Nevertheless, let no argument be drawn against theological study from the priority of the experimental stage. This inward testimony, although it predisposes others to listen to the accent of conviction it imparts, is purely of a personal nature; it fluctuates; it seems to be a part of divinely prearranged spiritual education that it should fluctuate; miracles only accompany the opening years of great movements; and if the Christian man would taste the deepest and most lasting joy of personal assurance and larger usefulness, he must hold his treasures of truth with a

firm intellectual grasp. Reason must elaborate, as well as will find inspiration in, the gifts of experience. First-love flags after a while if it have not the intelligence to support it. At any rate such is the teaching of the early centuries. However profound and engrossing the novel experiences of the Apostolic and post-Apostolic Ages, before four centuries had passed, in the interests of self-culture, evangelization, or defence, all the main sections of Christian theology known to us at present were being diligently prosecuted. Religion, with all its wealth, had to call in the aid of precision, consistency, and order, if it would not only advance but hold its own.

Quite naturally *the early Christians were soon compelled to busy themselves with defending their positions* against assaults, the assaults of heathen and Jews. Even THE SECOND CENTURY has bequeathed to us apologies, as these defences were called, of various kinds; in fact it has bequeathed little else, and hence the name commonly given to the post-Apostolic Age—"the age of the apologists." Moreover, the occasional monographs written against individual or fleeting heresies soon began to partake more and more of scientific completeness and order. Before the second century closed, Justin Martyr had given the world his *Σύνταγμα κατὰ Αἱρέσεων*, Irenæus had given his *Contra Hæreses*, Hippolytus his *Φιλοσοφούμενα*, and Tertullian his *De Prescriptionibus Hæreticorum*, each of which was sufficient to earn for its author the coveted title of Defender of the Faith.

But *apologetics cannot long subsist without a reasoned system of doctrine.* Indeed, the very best defence of Christianity is ever a careful and consistent statement of what Christianity is. Hence apologetical works were speedily followed by systematic. Origen was the father of systematic theology, and Alexandria its birthplace. Origen's great work, *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, met a great want, and had a large success. The book had many peculiarities of view; it showed many infirmities of arrangement; but, aiming as it did at a systematic presentation of all Christian truth, it straightway became a suggestive model, which was soon improved upon in detail by Rufinus, and Augustine, and Theodoret.

Doctrinal investigations again inevitably foster Biblical study. In very little more than a century after the appearance of the *De Principiis*, the principles of Biblical exegesis, exegesis itself, textual criticism, and the doctrine of the canon, were being painstakingly investigated. Works began, too, to appear upon applied or pastoral theology, and thus *before* THE CLOSE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY *all branches of theology had entered upon their long development*, the history of the Church having been told by Eusebius, and works on natural and ethnic theology having formed a necessary part of apologetical literature. In the writings of Augustine, for example, contributions are found to all branches of theological literature.

Thus early all the theological sciences had their birth. Their subsequent history, to be told more minutely hereafter, is a history of their decay or their flourishing according as they individually harmonized with or opposed the ruling spirit of each age, for that there is a spirit pervading and governing each age, however difficult to define in the present, is distinctly manifest in the past. All that it is necessary to do here is to call brief attention to these time-spirits.

The six centuries after the first are often called THE PATRISTIC AGE, or the Age of the Fathers; this larger period being subdivided into the post-Apostolic Age, the Age of the Apologists, and the Age of Polemics, the union of the Christian Church and Roman State marking the division between the two last. The name, "Age of Polemics," very ably marks the characteristic of the centuries from Constantine to the fall of the Roman Empire. As in the Age of the Apologists Christian theology was occupied with defending Christianity against the assaults of Judaism and heathenism, so in the subsequent age the great task was the maintenance of the fundamental Christian doctrines against all sorts of heresies. And the age has left to all time a splendid legacy in its formulations of the great doctrines of God and Christ and man. It was this polemical bent which governed the study of the several theological sciences from the days of Athanasius to the inroad of the barbarians.

Then followed THE SCHOLASTIC AGE. Some have given the

name of the Scholastic Age to the period extending from the days of Anselm (who died in 1109) to the Reformation. Others have called the entire period from the Patristic Age to Luther by the name of the Scholastic Age, and with reason. The Patristic Age died away at about the close of the seventh century, and as the epoch of the great Fathers of the Church ended, the epoch of the great scholastics commenced. The Scholastic Age displayed three tolerably well-marked phases, —the period of inception and youth, from the eighth to the eleventh century; the period of greatest strength and glory, from Anselm to Aquinas and Duns Scotus, the latter of whom died in 1308; and the subsequent period of decline and dissolution. The whole period was marked by one characteristic, the passion for systematizing. As has been acutely said, the scholastics were not *patres*, generators of doctrine, but *doctores*, teachers and system-makers. Their chief instrument was the Aristotelian logic. The Apostolic Age, as we have seen, founded Christianity, introducing the life and teaching of Jesus as a regenerative principle in human society; the Patristic Age, as we have also seen, by conflicts within and conflicts without the Church, crystallized Christianity into a series of doctrines; it was the task of the Scholastic Age to cast these doctrines into systems. It was at once the virtue and the vice of the time to be systematic. Scholasticism is the science of the Papist, credulous as to data, rigorous as to consequences. Let authority supply the premisses, and logic can supply the conclusions with the mathematical rigour of the syllogism. The whole theological investigations of the time were regulated by this love of system, with its axiom "the infallibility of authority." But there are two sources of truth, apprehension and comprehension, presentation of facts and intellectual assimilation of facts; and both must go hand in hand where the highest mental progress is desired. The Scholastic Age did all it could with its data, but if a further advance was to be made, the authority of priest and father must receive a blow, and direct approach to the source of truth and life and light be again rendered possible for all.

The quickening which theology required came in *the* Reformation. The Reformation may be not unfitly likened

to the Apostolic Age, not in originating power, but in the intuitional grasp of the great facts of the gospel. It was a revived spiritual experience, rather than a profounder intellectual insight, which almost simultaneously affected Luther and Zwingli, and which, when Rome opposed, brought about the gigantic breach in the Western Church. This breach was the inevitable consequence of the return to apostolical experience, another consequence equally inevitable being the return to disturbing controversy. The new Apostolic Age must be followed by a new Age of the Apologists, and a new Age of Polemics, and in due course by a new Age of Systematizers. It was in the nature of things that the new Protestant communities, as well as the Romish Church, should be exercised painfully and long in the intellectual adjustment of the new facts. Scholasticism had no place for the new phase of Christian life which Luther had made European. But Luther and his sympathizers wrote and spoke their apologies, and the work spread, no more patent testimony being necessary to the diffusion of the Protestant principles than the polemics everywhere aroused. Thus the closing years of the sixteenth century were years of passionate religious controversy, as well as of peculiar religious sensitiveness. The spirit of the time gave a tremendous impetus to theological investigation, again governing the line of study for good and harm, and giving in the process a resurrection to Biblical and historical science.

When THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY broke, the bitterness of the gigantic struggle had passed, and the time for intellectual systematization had come. Indeed, the seventeenth century may be called the Protestant Scholastic Age. It was the time for great systems. From the terrible combat of the Churches, there had emerged three types of doctrine,—the Tridentine, formulated by the Council of Trent; the Lutheran, formulated in the *Liber Concordiæ;* and the Calvinist, formulated in the several Reformed Confessions. Each distinctive type set itself to the labour of the systematic presentation of its views. Rome produced a series of great theologians, most prominent amongst whom were Cardinal Bellarmin and the Jesuit Pétau. In the Lutheran Churches flourished such system-makers as Chemnitz, Gerhard, and Quenstedt. Nor were the

Reformed Churches wanting in an identical fervour, as the works of Rivetus, Heidegger, Turrettin, Cocceius, Witsius, Usher, Pearson, Burnet, and Watson testify.

Once more, however, the age of system was followed by an age of disintegration. The Confessions did not contain all truth, and the systems did not adequately represent the Confessions. There followed the fierce attacks of rationalism. Not without propriety, Mr. Mark Pattison suggested, in his well-known essay in the "Essays and Reviews," that THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY might be called the "Seculum Rationalisticum," for, as he said, "it was not merely that rationalism obtruded itself as a heresy, or obtained a footing of toleration within the Church, but the rationalizing method possessed itself absolutely of the whole field of theology." Both at home and abroad, within the Churches and without, the so-called "light of nature" was constituted both the source and the test of all religious truth. One good thing, however, was done by the "rationalist century:" if it submitted all theological science to the severe light of the reason, and originated everywhere destructive criticism, it gave new birth to a most important branch of religious science—that is to say, to natural theology. Generally speaking, however, the rationalizing spirit biassed all the theology of the eighteenth century.

Happily the closing years of the eighteenth century saw a revival of religion. The Christian Churches made two replies to the assaults of rationalism; they set themselves to aggressive evangelization, and they issued their defences from pulpit and press. They answered Tindal and Collins by Wesley and Baxter. It was in the beginning of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, be it remembered ever, that the great missionary societies were founded, that the Bible Society commenced its splendid work, and that so powerful an impetus was given to ministerial education by the founding of theological colleges. Nevertheless this nineteenth century will scarcely be known as the evangelical century. All Christian lands have had their peculiar histories of work and worry, and most divisions of Christendom have had agitating controversies and volcanic movements of a national or

sectarian kind, the consideration of which will be more appropriately considered under the history of the doctrinal theology of the century. But two characteristics of this century have left their mark upon the Church universal. The nineteenth century has been the century of commerce and the century of natural science. Steam and the telegraph have brought the ends of the earth nearer, and thus the religions of heathendom have been brought more prominently before the eyes of men, whilst at the same time the insularity of individual divisions of the Church has been broken down. Thus recent years have been marked by a larger charity and a wider outlook, the spirit of the age especially resenting any seeming infringement of a humanitarian religion, and especially applauding any apparent universality of creed. The revelations of travel and researches into the religions of non-Christian nations, both almost new possessions of this age, have been one great cause of change of view. A second cause has been the large and fruitful practical results which have followed the prosecution of various fields of natural science. For a time the tendency to a levelling of religions, and the tendency to rely implicitly upon the methods of physical science, have paralyzed theology. Now a change has come. It is more or less manifest in every land. The closing years of the nineteenth century seem likely to be characterized by a revival of theology, as the opening years were characterized by a revival of religion. There is, indeed, as this book will show, no branch of theology which has not received a new impulse. Natural theology is coming out stronger than ever from the attacks of an antitheistic science. Ethnic theology has never been so methodically and dispassionately studied as since the commerce and colonization of England have opened up the darkest places of the heathen world. From the antagonistic criticism of rationalism, the sciences arising from Biblical study have issued at once more sure and less vulnerable. The history of the Church has never before received such able treatment, whether in general or detail. The new spirit of constructiveness is beginning to spread to doctrinal theology, with very reassuring results. Pastoral theology in all its branches, from the practical

tendency of the times, has likewise received enrichment both in depth and breadth. Doubtless much remains to be done in all branches, but the comfort is that all theological science has now entered upon a career of progress, where every worker may do useful service if he will. The negative spirit has done its work, and the positive spirit can steadily proceed with its task. It is no longer necessary to rebuild from the foundations. Solid, impregnable foundations have been laid; in many branches of theology splendid and stable superstructures have been built; in all branches a steady progress is possible. "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few."

Studiously brief, however, as this sketch of the course of theology has been, it has thrown several facts into the strongest relief, viz. first, that there is an experimental knowledge of religion apart from science; secondly, that there is an irresistible necessity for all robust Christianity to pass from experimental to scientific knowledge; thirdly, that the progress of theological science depends as well upon a revival or expansion of Christian experience as upon the prosecution of scientific method; and fourthly, that the vitality, the method, the freedom from the trammels of the unreliable results of the past, and at the same time the desire to recognise all the truth the past has discovered, all of which characterize the present age, promise as fruitful and progressive a study of theology as of other branches of science pursued by man. The way is more sure than ever before and more trodden. Many a height has already been scaled, blessed be God! Heights still stretch above us, blessed again be God! Wider and clearer vision will reward each upward step, however easy or difficult,—Excelsior!

§ 13.

HINTS ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THEOLOGY.

YET another detail of our plan calls for some additional remark. Before proceeding to the study of the several branches of theology, a few words may be advisably given to the subject of bibliography, upon which all modern inquiry has become exceptionally sensitive. It is manifest that a guide to the principal books in any sphere of investigation is an invaluable assistance either as directing the beginner or economizing the labour of the more advanced student. Some guidance of this kind it is proposed to offer. But not every book that has ever been written upon any or every theological subject calls for mention. For the writer, it would have been easier to have given in the sections that follow the name of almost every book which has been published in recent times, for he has kept for more than a dozen years a careful register, classified on the plan of Winer's *Handbuch*, to be more fully referred to presently, obtaining his titles from all sorts of sources English and foreign, and by all means in his power endeavouring to carry on the citations in Winer from the date of its last publication. But in reality, as has been previously said, all the books of value to the student fall under two categories; their interest lies either in their historical character or in their present utility. There are books which mark the several epochs in the history of any investigation, and there are also books of special usefulness in obtaining a competent knowledge of the present state of a question. Only these two classes call for notice. Books, for example, the expression of which is their sole originality, may serve a temporary purpose, but they have little worth for the student. A worker in scientific chemistry does not load his library or his mind with the numerous popular expositions of chemistry written to

amuse the leisurely or instruct the child. Hence the method of citation adopted in this book. On the one hand, a historical sketch of the progress made in every branch of theological inquiry has been given, and here the principal epoch-making books are named and characterized. On the other hand, in addition to the works which form salient features in the line of historical survey, lists are presented of those contemporary or recent writings which are especially noteworthy, being history in the making. These selected lists, which have called for much time and thought, will be arranged under two heads, the one containing the best book or books in the writer's esteem for the beginner, and the other containing books adapted for more advanced study. Such being the method adopted, there is the more necessity to point out once for all where information as to the whole wide range of relative literature may be obtained. As complete a view, therefore, as is possible to the author shall be given of this growingly important subsidiary aid to theological study, and it will be strange if some useful hints are not thrown out upon the collections of theological works likely to prove of service to the explorer in the fields of religious science. Such hints at any rate given to the present writer, when theology first became to him a pursuit worthy of passionate devotion and lifelong research, would have saved him years of labour.

Let it be understood, however, that reference will not be made to *works upon bibliography in general*, such as the monster compilations of Brunet, Ebert, and Lowndes, a good list of which will be found under the heading "Bibliographie Universelle" in M. Vallée's useful book, *Bibliographie des Bibliographies*, Paris 1883; nor will reference be made here to the bibliography of any section of theology, such as, to name a familiar instance, Mr. Spurgeon's *Commenting and Commentaries*. Indeed, general bibliography is not so advanced as the bibliography of theology, whilst these sectional bibliographies will be mentioned in their proper places. At present we are only concerned with express works upon theological bibliography in general.

There are three modes of arrangement for books on books, viz. the ALPHABETICAL order, the CHRONOLOGICAL, and the

order of SUBJECTS. Each has its special advantages, and each may be modified by adopting one or both of the others as a subsidiary arrangement. The alphabetical order is of greatest utility to the librarian, the chronological to the historian, and the subject order to the student.

As far as the student of theology is concerned, the ALPHABETICAL order, naturally followed in cataloguing every library, is only of value when the name of the author or the title of his book is previously known. Such preliminary knowledge having been somehow gained, an alphabetical bibliography may give additional particulars as to title, or may guide to the whereabouts of the book itself. Every public library at home or abroad of any value is possessed of an alphabetical catalogue, which, in such cases as those of the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the great German University libraries (some useful information upon which, well worthy of being completed to date by some competent person in a new edition or separate work, may be found in Horne's *Introduction to the Study of Bibliography*, 2 vols., London 1814), are monuments of industry and utility. The alphabetical order is also of value in calling attention to new books, as is seen in the several publishers' catalogues, and in such bibliographical serials as the *London Circular*, or Vandenhaeck and Ruprecht's annual catalogue of all German theological books, published since 1841. In cases where for any reason access is required to an alphabetical bibliography, the British Museum catalogue may be resorted to. Darling, *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, vol. i., Authors (to be mentioned at more length presently), may be mentioned also as useful for English works; and for German, Zuchold, *Bibliotheca Theologica*, Göttingen 1864, which contains all German theological works which appeared between 1830 and the date of publication, that very active time in German theological productions. Orme's *Bibliotheca Biblica*, London 1824, is an alphabetical list of selected books on all branches of theology, of some use to the beginner because of its added biographical and critical notices. Good lists of new theological books will be found, in English, in the *Athenæum;* in German, in the very careful and complete bibliography of Dr.

Caspar René Gregory, and recently of Dr. Johannes Müller, published in the fortnightly issues of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung;* and in French, in the *Revue de Théologie.* Good lists and reviews of American theology, as well as of German and English works, are given in the *Presbyterian Review,* published quarterly in New York and in Edinburgh, and in the *Bibliotheca Sacra.* The theological catalogues issued by David Nutt and Williams & Norgate are also of value.

Collections of theological works arranged CHRONOLOGICALLY are of somewhat greater utility to the student, and in investigations into specific periods are almost indispensable. From a very early date ecclesiastical writers have been classified chronologically, such classifications commonly including discussions upon the genuine and spurious works attributed to the several authors; indeed, these early summaries were so far from being bare lists of authors and their works, that they mostly contained biographical and critical matter of a greater or less completeness. In Miræus, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica,* Antwerp 1639, seven earlier works were collated, beginning with Jerome's treatise *De Viris Illustribus,* and in Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica,* Hamburg 1718, all Miræus was reprinted together with large additions, certainly the best edition of the ecclesiastical bibliographers prior to the seventeenth century. But it was the great theological activity of the seventeenth century, the Scholastic Age of the Reformation, which gave birth to many original bibliographical works, some of permanent utility, but all adopting the classification of ecclesiastical writers by centuries, and all containing much biographical and critical matter. Cardinal Bellarmin the famous champion of Tridentine doctrine, led the way with his *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,* Rome 1613, and he was followed by the Jesuit Labbé, who wrote his *Bibliotheca Chronologica* of the fathers, theologians, and ecclesiastical writers, Paris 1659, and his *Dissertatio,* Paris 1660, on the writers treated by Bellarmin. These works cleared the way, which was to become a broad high-road on the appearance at nearly the same time of two "magna opera," the one by the Romanist, the famous doctor of the Sorbonne and ecclesiastical historian, Ellies du Pin, who left his mark on several sections of

theology, and the other by the English Protestant, the learned Dr. William Cave, a canon of Windsor. The work of the former, *Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclesiastiques*, Paris, 1st edit. 1688, 2nd edit. in 19 vols. 1693–1715, professedly gave all the ecclesiastical writers to the invention of printing, and, as the sub-title stated, "contained the history of their lives, the catalogue, criticism, and chronology of their works, the summary of their contents, a judgment upon their style and their doctrine, and the enumeration of the different editions of their works." Cave's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* followed the same lines, and was first published in London in 1688, and next, in an emendated edition, in 1698. The best edition is of later date still. In 1740 the latest English edition was issued at Oxford, containing the final emendations and enlargements of the author, and continued to date by Wharton, of Polyglot fame. The Bâle edition of 1741 was made from this last edition. Undoubtedly Cave was a very credulous writer, and incorporated in his pages the judgments of Roman Catholics without much criticism. Jortin called him "the whitewasher of the ancients." Nevertheless, however dubitable his biography and suspect his criticism, his book remains to-day the great guide to manuscript lore prior to the invention of printing. Cave is for MSS. what Winer is for printed books. In 1722 Casimir Oudin, the distinguished Romish professor who turned Protestant,—he had written in 1686 a supplement to Bellarmin's *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*,—issued his *Commentarius de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* in three volumes, with the idea of supplementing gaps and errors in Cave and his predecessors. This latter work was of course laid under contribution, with some acerbity, in the preparation of Cave's last edition. But the chronological order passed out of fashion with Cave, and reasonably. So long as the Church was undivided, and so long as the number of writers was, under the influence of Rome, comparatively small, treatment by centuries was instructive as well as feasible; but when the Reformation gave rise to many sects and innumerable writers, it was scarcely possible and certainly undesirable to proceed any longer on the secular method. In the multiplicity of books

the chronological order has given place to the order of subjects. A popularization of the several works named under this chronological mode, of some value to the beginner because of its brevity and its being written in English, was issued by Dr. Adam Clarke in 1821, and in completed form in 1830–1831, in two octavo volumes; but Dr. Clarke, in this *Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature in a Chronological Arrangement of Authors and their Works*, should have acknowledged his much larger indebtedness to Dr. Cave, whom he does not name, than to Dr. Du Pin, whom he does mention.

Lists of books CLASSIFIED UNDER SUBJECTS are given, as has been pointed out in § 5, in most works on theological introduction, those of Clarisse and Hagenbach especially deserving mention. Indeed, Hagenbach gives under each subdivision of theology a fairly complete list of all books published in recent years, the more important ones in Hagenbach's esteem being indicated by an asterisk. The American translation of Hagenbach gives additional lists of English and American works.

So, too, more or less complete lists of the best relative literature are given in the several large theological encyclopædias (in the English sense of the word), where all the prominent articles give lists of books, naturally more complete for their special tongues than for foreign. It is therefore advisable to consult each national encyclopædia for the literature in its own tongue. William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, London, 3 vols., 1863, and his *Dictionaries of Antiquities and Biography*, 2 vols., 1876, etc., and of *Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, London, 3 vols., 1877, etc., will guide to English books. M'Culloch and Strong's *Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature*, 11 vols., New York 1874–1884, will direct to American as well as English literature. Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, 22 vols., Hamburg 1854–1868, will perform the same office for German works: a second edition, edited by Herzog and Plitt, was begun in 1876, which, whilst it supplements the literature to date, does not, it should be said, make the reference to the earlier edition unnecessary. Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Reli-*

gieuses renders similar service for all French and Swiss books. The new edition of Wetzel and Welte's *Kirchenlexikon oder Encyclopädie der katholiken Theologie*, edited by Cardinal Hergenröther, Freiburg 1877, etc., will point the student to all prominent Roman Catholic works.

Many volumes have, however, been expressly devoted to subject lists of theological works. Some of these have taken the form of handy guides for pastors in the formation of their libraries, amongst which may be named:—Bray, *Bibliotheca Parochialis*, etc., 2nd edit., London 1707; "a scheme of such theological and other heads, as seem requisite to be perused and occasionally consulted by the reverend clergy." Niemeyer, *Bibliothek für Prediger und Freunde der theologischen Literatur*, 3 vols., Halle 1796–1798, an appendix to which was published in 1812 with the literature from 1796–1810. Rolland, *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque ou catalogue raisonné de tous les bons ouvrages qui peuvent entrer dans une bibliothèque chrétienne*, 3 vols., Lyons 1833–1843. Dana, *Bibliotheca Probata*, "Catalogue of books, selected, examined, and arranged under the heads of Bibles, prayer books, commentaries, devotional library, family library, parish library, parish school library, Sunday-school library, academic and school district library, with full descriptive titles, characterization, and prices, to which is appended a list for the library of a parish minister," 2nd edit., New York 1857.

But from the time of the Reformation, when the invention of printing and the religious revival combined so largely increased the number of authors, many books have been explicitly devoted to giving, not selections merely of theological works under heads, but as complete lists as possible of theological literature arranged in various manners according to subjects. The bare titles of the more important will suffice here, their labours having been supplemented and supplanted by later bibliographies, for example, Zannichius, *Bibliotheca Theologiæ*, Mulhaus 1591. Besodner, *Bibliotheca Theologica*, Frankfort 1608. Bolduan, *Bibliotheca Theologica*, Jena 1614. Kemp, *Charismatum sacrorum Trias, sive bibliotheca anglorum theologica*, London 1677. Lipen, *Bibliotheca realis theologica*, 2 vols., Frankfort 1685. Dorn, *Bibliotheca theologica critica*,

Frankfort and Leipzig 1721–1723. Stengel, *Apparatus librorum theologicorum*, Ulm 1724. Pfaff, *Introductio in historiam theologiæ literariam*, 3 vols., Tübingen 1724–1726. Calmet, Supplementary volume to the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Paris 1728, containing a *Bibliothèque sacrée*. Stoll, *Anleitung zur Historie der theologischen Gelahrheit*, Jena 1739. Lilienthal, *Theologisch-homiletischer Archivarius*, Jena 1749. Miller, *Systematische Anleitung zur Kenntniss auserlesener Bücher in der Theologie und in den damit verbundenen Wissenschaften*, Leipzig 1773, 3rd edit., 1781. Döderlein, *Auserlesene theologische Bibliothek*, 4 vols., Leipzig 1780–1792. Keil, *Systematisches Verzeichniss derjenigen theologischen Schriften und Bücher deren Kenntniss allgemein nöthig und nützlich ist entworfen*, 2nd edit., Stendal 1792. Nösselt, *Anweisung zur Kenntniss der besten allgemeinen Bücher in allen Theilen der Theologie*, Giessen 1796. Ersch, *Literatur der Theologie seit der Mitte des 18ten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit*, 2nd edit., Leipzig 1822. Danz, *Universal Wörterbuch der theologischen, kirchen und religionsgeschichtlichen Literatur*, Leipzig 1843.

Of a few works of a more indispensable kind a more lengthy description is necessary. From 1757 to 1765 Walch published at Jena, in four volumes, his *Bibliotheca selecta litterariis adnotationibus instructa*, a monument of erudition, by far the most complete and valuable work then published, and even to-day a compendium not wholly superseded. In successive chapters, admirably and suggestively arranged, the literature is given of works on theological method, dogmatic, symbolic, catechetic, polemic and moral theology, ecclesiastical history, exegesis, and homiletics, the whole being completed by an excellent index of authors. In 1709 Jacques Le Long, the Oratorian, had published in two volumes at Paris his *Bibliotheca Sacra;* and in 1723 a second and much improved edition appeared; then a valuable supplement having been afterwards added and the entire work revised by Börner, an enlarged and extended edition was published by Masch in five volumes at Halle, 1778–1790. For lists of the various editions of the Scriptures in all languages this work, and especially the last edition, is invaluable. In the *Handbuch der theologischen Literatur*, one of the many useful works of Winer, the author

of the best grammar of New Testament Greek, a yet more indispensable bibliographical work is found; the first edition was published in 1821, and the third, largely augmented, in two volumes, from 1838–1840, whilst a supplementary volume completed the literature to the close of 1841. In the second volume, an alphabetical list of authors is given, together with brief biographies; in the first volume,—a most conclusive testimony to the industry of the man who in the days of penurious youth possessed himself of a Greek grammar by copying one out,—the outline of the scientific division of theology, which Winer himself advocated in his lectures on methodology, is retained, and under the several headings of introductory works upon all or several of the branches of theology, exegetical works, systematic works, historical works, and practical works, each of which divisions is again subdivided into many sections, nine-and-twenty in all, all printed works published in Germany are arranged in chronological order, together with many works of foreign presses. As might have been anticipated, the weakness of this useful book lies in its slight knowledge of English theology. This lack may be supplied in many ways. Thus, as far as all branches of Biblical study are concerned, Prebendary Horne added to the second volume of his well-known *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures,* which has passed, with occasional re-editing, through a dozen editions, a very voluminous and careful bibliography, rich in its tables of the editions of the entire texts and versions of the Bible, and in its lists of treatises upon all branches of the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures. It should be noted, however, that this bibliographical supplement has been withdrawn from all editions later than the ninth, which appeared in 1846. Again, Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica,* a manual of theological literature, in 2 vols., London 1854–1859, vol. i. Authors, vol. ii. Subjects, supplements the deficiencies of Horne. The strength of Darling, in addition to the fact that it carries on the literature by more than ten years, lies in its practical theology; for, under its commentaries, it supplies not only the names of entire works, but all that rich expository literature to be found in the long and splendid course of the pulpit.

Darling claims for his book that by its means "a ready reference may be obtained to what has been brought to bear on any passage by the eloquent St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, Jeremy Taylor, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, and Saurin; the imaginative Thomas Adams, Fuller, and Seed; the witty South; the silver-tongued Bates; the profound Jackson, Owen, and Charnock; the persuasive Hopkins, Baxter, Patrick; the argumentative Butler, Clarke, Jortin, Balguy; the judicious Hooker, Sanderson; the practical Henry Smith, Bolton, and Secker, and their numerous, no less eminent, contemporaries and successors; . . . thus by the array of subjects presented in this volume, a kind of running commentary may be obtained throughout the whole Scriptures, clear statements of the chief points of doctrine and fact, and happy expressions of thought, throwing direct light on many difficult passages." In the volume on Authors, all English authors of works more or less elucidatory of the Bible are mentioned in alphabetical order; a list is given of their works, extending to the texts and titles of all sermons in volumes, and a brief criticism and biography in each case. In the second volume, Subjects, the various writers are named under a subject-division, which, beginning with works on general bibliography and the bibliography of theology, proceeds to treat of all varieties of works upon Scripture throughout no less than nearly 1900 quarto columns. In Malcolm, *Interleaved Theological Commonplace Book and Index of References to the Principal Works in every Department of Theological Literature*, London 1868, there are no less than 70,000 citations of theological works arranged alphabetically under two thousand heads. Unhappily, therefore, although there is here stored a very large amount of laborious research, the book is difficult to use. An alphabetical order of subjects is the least useful even when the subjects are comparatively few, but when they number a couple of thousand from Aaron, Abelard, Ability, Abraham, Abrahamic Covenant to Zabians, Zeal, Zendavesta, Zinzendorf, and Zwingle, the utility is seriously interfered with. To obtain a list of books on the Work of Christ, for example, it is necessary to turn to Atonement, Messiah, Mediation, Redemption, and Sacrifice; and to obtain a list on Biblical criticism, the headings must be consulted of

Difficulties of the Bible, Figurative Language, Hebrew, Hermeneutics, Idioms, Philology, Poetry, Printed Editions, Quotations, Style, Synonyms, Various Readings, and Vowel Points, as well as the heading of Biblical Criticism. Still the work will be found of value if used discriminatingly and diligently. And yet another work deserves honourable mention as an excellent aid to the study of English theological books, viz. Hurst, *Bibliotheca Theologica: a Select and Classified Bibliography of Theology and General Religious Literature*, New York 1883. This bibliography confines itself to books of the English and American markets. It is admirably classified, by a method compounded of Winer and Malcolm, for it is divided into five parts, in the first of which works are given on the general study of theology, on theological bibliography, lexicography, etc.; in the second follow works pertaining to exegetical theology; in the third, those belonging to historical theology, in the fourth to systematic, and in the last to practical theology; then, in addition to this more scientific treatment, there is also an alphabetical arrangement, somewhat minutely worked out, of general subjects under the four last divisions. An example will show the method. Exegetical theology is treated under two subdivisions, the first dealing with textual and exegetical criticism, viz. grammars and lexicons, original texts, commentaries on the whole Bible, on the Old Testament entire, on the New Testament entire, on the several books of the Bible in order; and the second subdivision treating of general subjects under fifty-six heads arranged alphabetically, beginning with Antiquities, Apocryphal Books, Apostles, Authority of Bible, Astronomy, Canon, Chronology, Coincidences, Coins, Concordances, Connection of Old and New Testaments, Connection of Sacred and Profane History, Countries (Arabia, Ararat, etc.). Altogether the book will be found most useful. Dr. Hurst is one of the editors of the American translation of Hagenbach previously mentioned, and has supplemented Hagenbach's lists of books by lists of English and American theological publications. Pünjer's *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, published yearly since 1882, contains an admirable guide to the German theological literature of the preceding year, the

several sections—on the Old Testament, the New Testament, Church History, Philosophy of Religion and Apologetics, Dogmatics, Ethics, Practical Theology—being each confided to one or more specialists, who enumerate and criticise not only express works on the several sections, but even review articles and pamphlets.

§ 14.

SOME PRACTICAL HINTS WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION BY THE STUDENT OF THEOLOGY.

THE general survey of theology is now concluded, but before passing on to the several specific sciences, let a few words of counsel be given to the student.

FIRST, *Love truth as you would love God.* "Truth," says Lord Bacon in his well-known essay, "teacheth that the inquiry of truth, which is the love-making or wooing of it, the knowledge of truth, which is the presence of it, and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it, is the sovereign good of human nature;" and Locke, in one of his letters, writes, "To love truth for truth's sake, is the principal part of human perfection in this world, and the seed-plot of all other virtues." Such testimonies might be indefinitely increased, for what considerable writer has not said something concerning the value of truth, or the necessity of loyalty and persistence in its pursuit? But the Christian student has the highest incentive for making the pursuit of truth the passion of his life. God is truth as well as love. The investigation of truth is the search after God; the attainment of truth is the acquisition of insight into His being or plans. He who is Way and Life, in the great inclusive words of John, is also Truth. To acquire truth is to re-think the divine thoughts. Much of the universe lies bare to him who seeks divine wisdom, and his knowledge is of perennial as well as present worth, because it is the self-disclosure of Deity.

> "The power to bind and loose to Truth is given;
> The mouth that speaks it, is the mouth of heaven.
> . . . . . .
> It owes its high prerogative to none,
> It shines *for* all, as shines the blessed sun;

It shines *in* all, who do not shut it out,
By dungeon doors of unbelief and doubt.
Rabbi and priest may be chained down to lies,
And babes and sucklings winged to mount the skies."

Be, however, SECONDLY, *always on your guard against confounding your views of truth with truth absolute.* Our days are short, and the thoughts of God are deep. Every age grapples with the unknown, and opens up some new aspect of the universe. Truth is attainable, doubtless; but truth, truth in its complex interweaving, is infinite. Alas! it is only truth in some of its finite phases which we are each able to grasp. The truth of the individual man who has not done mentally growing is perpetually changing with the knowledge of new truth or the altered position of old, and the same is just as true of masses of men. The comfort is that the love of truth itself shows an advanced state of the intellect, which is itself a guarantee of faculties ripe enough for successful inquiry. As Jean Paul said in his *Levana,* "Since truthfulness, as a conscious virtue and sacrifice, is the blossom, nay the pollen, of the whole moral growth, it can only grow with its growth, and open when it has reached its height." Another comfort is that if the mind remain plastic, our finite truth perpetually approximates to infinite truth by a perpetual enlargement and adjustment. As the mental vision becomes clearer and the faculties expand, it is often not so much that a different object presents itself to the mind, but the same object with greater definition. The further pursuit of truth does not always resemble the turning of a kaleidoscope, where the same objects arrange themselves in all sorts of novel and unexpected positions; rather is it very frequently the examination of the same object with telescopes of higher and higher powers and ever decreasing chromatic disturbance. Or we may say that the search after truth is like an arduous mountain ascent, where the labour and fatigue are rewarded step by step by the enlarging horizon and the more accurate and balanced vision of objects near and remote. Nevertheless, however prolonged and accurate our search, and however vast and successful the labours of our predecessors, the limitations of our knowledge should always form an element in our judg-

ment. Humility and moderation are, it is proverbial, some of the most conspicuous fruits of the tree of knowledge.

And THIRDLY, *let belief be proportioned to the evidence.* Commonly accepted as this dictum is, history declares it to be rarely acted on. Very subtle are the influences of bias, and they baffle some of the most veracious of minds. Love and hatred predispose us to be credulous; sinfulness disorders our moral judgment; intellectual prepossessions prompt to belief or disbelief; and consequences colour decisions how frequently. The mere fact that a proposition seems original introduces the distorting element of fondness for our own creations. The tolerance of parents where their children are concerned is a byword. What is before our eyes is apt to make us forget the unseen. Adherence to a system oftentimes makes blind to the truth of opposing systems. The needs of place, party, or sustenance mingle with beliefs in a manner often unsuspected. Truth is the precious product of pure reason, using the words in a much wider sense than Kant; and what a conflict is this purification,—with sense, with tradition, with feeling, with early teaching and late acquirement. The whole history of man is a comment upon this statement. Notice, for example, how philosophical systems have coloured the views of religious truth; how Platonism, for instance, gave a twist to the splendid mind of Origen, and to the Alexandrian school generally. Was it not the oriental philosophical dualism which gave birth to Gnosticism? There would have been no Scholastic Age but for Aristotle. The systems of Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Wolff, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, to mention prominent Continental thinkers, have all been followed by distinct theological schools. English rationalism sprang from English philosophy. May not another characteristic set of illustrations be derived from the overpowering influence of great minds? How much of conviction, apparently based on reasonable grounds and hard-won truth, ought to be really ascribed to respect for the authority of Aquinas, say, or Luther, Calvin or Wesley, Swedenborg or Edward Irving? The literary form even created by some minds has become the dogma of their followers, and figures of speech have been regarded as

balanced arguments. Bring, therefore, all your logic to bear in the formation of your creed.

This leads to saying, IN THE FOURTH PLACE, *be scientific, that is, clear, orderly, consistent, calm, patient, in maturing your convictions.* They will be found golden rules in inquiry, —to economize labour and facilitate success by being methodical,—to be satisfied with nothing short of consistency in thoughts,—to distinguish carefully between thoughts and expression (the same thought may appear under several forms of words, and the same words may convey very different thoughts),—to give much attention to accuracy and clearness of definition,—to suspend judgment where satisfactory conclusions are not reached,—to remember with Seneca that "veritatem dies aperit" ("time unlocks truth"), and with Plautus, that "dum omnia quærimus, aliquando ad verum, ubi minime expectavimus, pervenimus" ("while we are searching everything, we sometimes find truth where we least expected it"). "Truth, like the sun," it has been said, "submits to be obscured, but only for a time." So much for the logical aspects of inquiry, as necessary in theology as in any other science.

But, FIFTHLY, *never lose sight of the peculiar danger of intellectual inquiries into religious matters.* The danger to which I refer is the bewilderment of mind which is liable to attend the passage from an unreasoning to a rational state, a danger which theology shares with all mental pursuits, perhaps in a larger degree. Lord Bacon wisely said, "It is true that a little philosophy (he means intellectual study) inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion; for while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate, and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity;" a passage which not improbably contains the germ of Pope's famous lines,—

> "A little learning is a dangerous thing;
> Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

This is one danger of scientific study, — that God may be forgotten in engrossing investigation of His works. But

it is a more serious and general danger to which reference is here made. Hegel would explain all the processes of the universe by regarding them as necessary phases by which the Absolute or Pure Being or God attains to self-consciousness. This is Pantheism. Nevertheless, Hegel's principle resulted from applying to the divine sphere what is certainly characteristic of the human. Intuitions are given to every man; the translation of these intuitions into terms of the intellect is a slow, tedious, and painful process. Consciousness is coeval with life; self-consciousness is born of conflict and contrast. Take a few simple instances. Light we all know by mere seeing; its rational explanation is the result of a laborious process, first of discovery, then of acquisition; and in the intellectual study of light a further fact is noteworthy,—the sensitiveness, discrimination, and delicacy of the eyesight may be injured. The same is true of music; most men receive pleasure from the intuitive sense of harmonious sounds; few are capable of the expression and explanation of those sounds in the terms of the reason; there is a lower intuitive knowledge and there is a higher rational knowledge; it is a necessity of our natures not to rest always content with sensuous apprehension, but to advance to intellectual comprehension; and in this case also it is commonly found that, in the acquisition of the theory of music, the ears become for a time less acute to the pleasures and delights of musical sound; the intellectual interest deadens the intuitive sense. It ever requires a laborious education to do these two things well at once,—to feel and to criticise feeling. These two instances are simply illustrations of a great law. The life of man advances, as it unfolds, from the state of feeling to that of knowledge, from perception to cognition, from apprehension to comprehension; and experience shows on all hands that there is a special danger in this unavoidable transition from nonage to maturity, namely, that although the final lucidity is greater than the first lucidity, the early clearness becomes confused before the latest clearness is reached. Dawn only becomes day after an interval of mist. In the first stage of knowledge, which is largely a state of feeling, the knowledge gained is isolated, disconnected, specific, and bounded every-

where by a near circumference of ignorance; the maturer stage superadds rational comprehension to sensuous apprehension, when the isolated becomes classifiable, the disconnected interlinked, the specific general, and although limitation is not annihilated the horizon is more distant; *but* in the passage from one state to the other, we have usually to encounter a time when the eye does not perform its functions well from the difficulty in adjusting itself to two foci at once. It is easy to feel, and it is easy to think, but in the endeavour to combine feeling and thinking, sensation is liable to appear dulled whilst intellect has not arrived at clearness. It is so in all knowledge; it is especially so in religious knowledge. The path of the theological learner is too often like the journeying of ancient Israel; a wilderness intervenes between Egypt and Canaan, so tangled and wearisome at times that the weaker spirits long to return to the flesh-pots of the land of sense and appetite. To repeat our previous figure, the sun, which is the source of our light, has a glorious dawn, but before it reaches its more brilliant noon, to our dismay and perplexity it often veils itself in clouds of its own making. The theologian cannot escape from the condition of all knowledge. His career commences in feeling; God and Christ, sin and salvation, are experienced rather than known. If he would outgrow the immature stage of merely experimental knowledge, and attain a knowledge satisfactory to the intellect, it is well for him to recognise the peril incidental to this growth. His first strong feelings will probably lessen in intensity at the outset, and for a time he may seem to lose more than he gains. He must persevere notwithstanding. Let his moral behaviour be right, let his honesty be thorough, let his perseverance be courageous, let his self-denial be unstinted; in a word, let him as carefully attend to his spiritual culture as his intellectual, utilizing the various means of grace,—prayer, meditation, Scripture-reading, and the several forms of Christian labour, and in the end he will attain a more lasting and certain rest, he will reach his majority, where intense feeling, keen intellect, and robust will have arrived at harmonious and delightful working in the fearless realization of Christian truth. He will walk at

liberty. Certainly it would be well to have no passions and to live a kind of Edenic life which is ignorant of evil, but it is assuredly better to have had passions, to have held them with a firm rein, and to have reached the calm of conquered passion. Similarly, turning from the emotional to the intellectual arena, it is doubtless good to enjoy the unquestioning delight of the first hours of pronounced Christian experience, but it is incalculably better to attain the immoveable delight of the mature and rational Christian. Be not very disturbed, therefore, by confusion in the early study of theology. Regard these painful and perplexing hours as a form of your discipline, and as means to a splendid end. Remember that if the student of theology is liable to lose his initial enjoyment in the intense and distracting wrestlings of thought, he is at least on the road to higher things, and dare not surrender, if he would, the anxieties of the thoughtful for the sentiments of the unintelligent. The theologian must pay the penalty of all thought. It is impossible to pluck the tree of knowledge of good and evil without suffering. Or, to elaborate a previous figure, the student of theology journeys forth with mingled tears and joy from the pleasures of Egypt, where he has passed his childhood, that he may travel to the Canaan of conscious appreciation and reflective assurance, and, the long and trying journey once commenced, he must steadily pursue his way in spite of occasional repinings for the unthinking days which are past for ever, although, alas! his path may lie through a wilderness of interminable crossings and counter-crossings apparently, or through a sea which shuts away for ever "the heaven that lies about us in our infancy"—

> "Those first affections,
> Those shadowy recollections,
> Which be they what they may,
> Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
> Are yet a master-light of all our seeing."

Progress is a necessity of our being. We cannot remain children for ever; and if the struggle to which we are called be severe, let us ever recollect that the *Via Dolorosa* will

conduct us in good time to a crown as well as a cross, to spiritual manhood in fact, when our joyous experience of the saving power of Christ our Redeemer will flow from every faculty of our being, mind and will and heart. For very mental repose, it is impossible to remain always in a half-intuitive knowledge of divine things. Because of the united force of our natures and our circumstances, thought must on for weal or woe. This is a consequence of the high destiny of man. Yet, after all, Eden is cold, contracted, and shadowy in comparison with the glow and consciousness and assurance of the Paradise Regained. To change the figure, theology, like the heavens, is "full of stars which appear not to a careless spectator, but a diligent contemplator, with suitable helps, will find new worlds of glory in every part."

"As carefully attend to spiritual as to intellectual culture," we have just said. Ever remembering, then, the relativity of spiritual knowledge, *pay much attention*, LASTLY, *to the culture of the spiritual nature.* There are obstacles many and great in the pursuit of theology as well as in the prosecution of all knowledge, and there are obstacles peculiar to this branch of study. Not to enlarge upon several hindrances which are obvious, such as the vastness of the materials, the accumulation of the related literature, the severity of the needful preparatory discipline, the government of mind and heart and conscience and spirit requisite, the temptation to mistake the means of theology for its end, like the miser who loves his gold and not the things gold can purchase, there is one obstacle to which distinct reference should be made. Theology demands a spiritual preparation. The natural faculties are adequate to the study of physical science; regenerated faculties are requisite for any thoroughgoing study of theology. "He that doeth My will, shall know of the doctrine," said our Lord to the perplexed Jews who found contradictions in His teaching concerning His person; and the principle is of the widest application in theological inquiry. As a blind man cannot judge colour or a deaf man criticise music, each lacking a requisite experience, each being devoid of a necessary sense, so the man who is not living in obedience to the precepts of the gospel is destitute of the

spiritual sense by which he can fairly judge of those precepts. To cultivate the spiritual nature is to train the organ of theological observation; and as freehand drawing may drill the eye to the accurate observation of material things, so a holy life drills the spiritual eye to accurate observation of religious things, with this difference in the two cases, that in the latter the preliminary preparation is indispensable, and in the former advisable simply. "Bene orasse est bene studiisse." Many devils which torture students of theology are only to be cast out with prayer and fasting. But then this remedy for excessive and speculative theorizing is analogous to that adopted in the natural sciences for the same end. Never forget to verify your theories, says science, which, being interpreted, means, in your investigations of nature do not ignore nature,—return to your original sources again and again,—try all inferences by facts. That you do not soar too high on wings too waxen, keep up your communication with actual *terra firma*. Similar advice must be given to the student of theology. Ceaselessly refresh yourself at the fountains of your faith. The facts of religion must not be confounded or beclouded by its theories; individual experience must not be superseded by the scientific treatment of experience; and if, in the prosecution of theology, those facts and experiences bulk less largely or recede into the background, the true resource is to renew the spiritual strength. The Christian life, for example, is a communion with a living Saviour revealing God through the Holy Spirit. Fellowship therefore with the divine, maintained by diligent use of the means of grace, is the cure for the ills that thinking flesh is heir to. Cherish your early convictions, or, if they become enfeebled, renew them in the manner in which they were first gained. Spiritual things are spiritually discerned. Theology will be tottering if religion is feeble; therefore, "Let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and the finisher of our faith." "He that believeth in the Son of God hath the witness in himself;" "With the lowly is wisdom;" "The meek will He guide in judgment;" "If thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light;" "If ye continue in My word, then are ye My

disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free;" "If thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding, if thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasure, then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God." "Back to nature" is the advice given to the painter who has become untrue through excessive imaginings; "back to religion" is the advice to the thinker whose religious life flags in theorizing. The facts of religion remain, did all theologies perish. Sin is a different thing to the doctrine of sin; the fact of reconciliation is one thing, and the doctrine of atonement another. A man may use a lamp to light his way, even though he be undecided as to whether heat and light are more than modes of motion; coffee is a stimulant, and bread a food, even should their ultimate chemical constitution be unknown; and the facts of religious experience and of Scripture remain, though their formulas escape us and their scientific relations are incompletely known. The love of the Father, the power of the cross of Jesus, the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and the peace of God which passeth all understanding, all these and parallel facts remain, however chaotic our Theologies, and Christologies, and Ponerologies, and Soteriologies. The sense of the forgiveness of sin is unaffected by the theology I hold; conscious participation in the blessings of restored sonship is independent of my special views upon the limits of the divine fatherhood. Indeed, instead of the facts of the Bible and Christian experience being conditioned by my theology, my theology must be conditioned by Scripture and the Christian consciousness. Schleiermacher stood upon rock when he asserted the self-authentification of the Christian consciousness, for the variations of theologies can no more affect the experiences which constitute and which succeed the new birth, and the facts which produce those experiences, than the variations of biologists affect my assurance that I do live. Let these, then, be the daily rules of the ministerial student; let him read the Bible daily alone, let him accustom himself to daily private and stated prayer, let him give himself heartily to some form of energetic Christian service, let

him keep a strict watch over conduct, for all sin blinds. Certainly, if religious life flags, the dangers of theological study will be augmented a hundredfold. It is equally certain that if the heart be right towards God, no discipline can equal in value the several branches of theology for the suitable training of the workman who needeth not to be ashamed.

> " Das Pergament—ist das der heil'ge Bronnen,
> Woraus ein Trunk den Durst auf ewig stillt ?
> Erquickung hast du nicht gewonnen,
> Wenn sie dir nicht aus eigner Seele quillt."
>
> " Parchment and books—are they the holy springs
> A drink from which thy thirst for ever stills ?
> To inspiration hast thou not attained,
> Except from thine own soul it freely wells."
>
> —GOETHE, *Faust.*

PART II.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SPECIFIC THEOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

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DIVISION I.

NATURAL THEOLOGY.

§ 15.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

FROM the study of theology in general we now turn to the study of the particular branches of theology, and we begin with natural theology. The primary duty is again to define terms.

Like the term theology itself, natural theology — the English equivalent of the ancient *theologia naturalis* already employed by Varro, according to Augustine—is used in a wider and a narrower sense. In the narrower signification, following the analogy of the old scholastic terms, theologia dogmatica, theologia moralis, theologia biblica, natural theology stands, in strict accord with etymology, for the doctrine of God, His essence, existence, and attributes, as given in nature, just as its analogues stood for the doctrine of God as taught in the Church, in the conscience, in the Bible. In the wider sense, natural theology stands for all the religious knowledge, treated systematically, obtainable by the ordinary faculties of man, apart from special divine excitation. In this wider use natural theology is contrasted with revealed theology, the religious knowledge, treated systematically, obtainable by the exceptionally inspired faculties of man. As an equivalent for natural theology in the wider sense, some have employed the name rational theology, the scientific treatment of the religious knowledge attainable by the reason as such; and this designation is not without its value, although there is some advantage in emphasizing the objective source of the knowledge, nature, rather than the subjective instrument in its acquisition, reason. Preference is also given to the term natural theology as harmonizing more with the other leading subdivisions, each of which directs attention to the external and objective source. Natural theology, then, adopting the wider

sense as more convenient for our purpose, and as affording the requisite contrast with the other branches of theology, is the science of natural religion, that is, of the knowledge of the supernatural given in nature.

It should be definitely stated, however, that this term nature is by no means exact. By nature in this connection is simply meant — using a well-understood if undesirable word—the general constitution of things. But there is an unavoidable ambiguity about this use of the word. By the accurate Christian thinker, every fact in the present system of things would be referred in the last resort to the supernatural, and, on the other hand, prophecy and miracle, which are commonly instanced as good examples of the supernatural, would be regarded as strictly natural, if by natural is meant the actual course of the universe, and not that course as prematurely marked out by the limited faculties of man. Natural and supernatural are, after all, useful but unscientific designations. They are not exclusive, like "black" and "white," but only fairly expressive, like "animal" and "vegetable," unfortunately failing in precision just where precision is most needed. X plus Y, the supernatural plus the natural, cannot be given as the unanalyzable formula for the universe, because some X is Y, some supernatural is natural, and all Y is X, all natural is supernatural. Even in popular speech we sometimes speak of the Book of Nature as the Book of God, and sometimes as contrasted with God's Book. So, in scientific nomenclature, an event may be natural or supernatural according to the point of view. Seen as God sees, the Incarnation, for example, may be strictly natural, part of the constitution of things, whereas seen as man sees, the revelation of God in human form appears altogether supernatural. It is difficult to believe, however, that we could dispense with these highly convenient terms, nature and natural, and so long as the necessary limitations, the unavoidable ambiguities, of the words are recognised, they may be used both with advantage, and without the possibility of the jugglery with which they often have been used.

Natural theology, then, is the science of the supernatural

as disclosed in nature, that is to say, as given in the present constitution of things and apprehended by the ordinary faculties of man. This being the definition of the name selected, the problem of natural theology immediately opens. The problem is to ascertain and treat in an orderly and exhaustive manner all that nature can teach concerning the existence of God and the divine relations of man.

§ 16.

UTILITY OF THE STUDY OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

THE aim then of natural theology being to ascertain and affiliate all that nature can teach concerning God and our relations to a supernatural world, it is manifest, FIRST, that if there be such a science, *it would crown all the other sciences, which confessedly deal with the world of sense, by disclosing a world above sense.* Such a science would unspeakably enlarge our horizon. Beyond the confines of the visible universe, a universe would be revealed with other laws and with another destiny. The blue sky would become symbolic of truer heavens. Man would cease to be the supreme intelligence. All the sciences would receive an apotheosis. Mathematics would add to its knowledge of number and dimension, knowledge of Him who has deliberately bound His thoughts by the limitations of time and space. Physics would tell of an Infinite Will by whose movement force originated. The molecular arrangements of chemistry would become the regulated volitions of Deity. Biology would bear its testimony to the Life which is the light of men. An unfolding divine purpose would appear in the geological upheavals and depressions. Corresponding to the microcosmic mind of man a macrocosmic Divine Intelligence would manifest itself. Sociology would become the history of an omniscient Providence. In a word, every science would be intercalated in the biography of Deity, thus receiving a greatly increased dignity.

SECONDLY, *like all science, natural theology bestows upon the student the pleasures of reasoning and investigation.* As Lord Brougham very justly remarks in his *Discourse on Natural Theology*, giving one series of examples out of many, "To trace design in the productions and in the operations of

nature, or in those of the human understanding, is, in the strictest sense of the word, generalization, and consequently produces the same pleasure with the generalizations of physical and psychological science. . . . Thus, if it is pleasing to find that the properties of two curves so exceedingly unlike as the ellipse and the hyperbola closely resemble each other, or that appearances so dissimilar as the motion of the moon and the fall of an apple from the tree are different forms of the same fact, it affords a pleasure of the same kind to discover that the light of the glow-worm and the song of the nightingale are both provisions of nature for the same end of attracting the animal's mate, and continuing its kind —that the peculiar law of attraction pervading all matter, the magnitude of the heavenly bodies, the planes they move in, and the directions of their courses, are all so contrived as to make their mutual actions, and the countless disturbances thence arising, all secure a perpetual stability to the system which no other arrangement could attain. It is a highly pleasing contemplation of the self-same kind with those of the other sciences to perceive everywhere design and adaptation—to discover uses even in things apparently the most accidental—to trace this so constantly, that when peradventure we cannot find the purpose of nature, we never for a moment suppose there was none, but only that we have hitherto failed in finding it out—and to arrive at the intimate persuasion that all seeming disorder is harmony—all chance, design—and that nothing is made in vain; nay, things which in our ignorance we had overlooked as unimportant or even complained of as evils, fill us afterwards with contentment and delight, when we find they are subservient to the most important and beneficial uses. Thus inflammation and the generation of matter in a wound we find to be the effort which nature makes to produce new flesh and effect the cure; the opposite hinges of the valves in the veins and arteries are the means of enabling the blood to circulate; and so of innumerable other arrangements of the animal economy."

Then, THIRDLY, *natural theology is a science of peculiar interest and instructiveness.* For let the nature of its

generalizations be considered, relating as they do to the evidences in nature of a supernatural origin and providence, with their corollaries of a future and more blessed life. Do not the conclusions of natural theology excel in sublimity? What grander studies are there than the creation of things, their divine preservation, and "the exquisite skill," to adopt the familiar words of Paley, "that contrived the wings and beak and feet of insects invisible to the naked eye, and that lighted the lamp of day, and launched into space comets a thousand times larger than the earth, whirling a million times swifter than a cannon-ball, and burning with a heat a thousand centuries could not quench"? Again, does not the universality of the evidence on which natural theology rests, impart a special interest to the study? Inferences are insisted on which are not only true for the Christian, but for every man. "The light that lighteth every man" is peculiarly the theme of natural theology. All times, all places, all races, have their part and lot in this science. Here there is catholic truth pre-eminently, truth believed in "semper, ubique et ab omnibus;" and hence here there is interest as universal as the evidence. So much for the purely scientific pleasure which comes from the contemplation and investigation of the facts belonging to this section of knowledge; but it should not be forgotten that there is a practical as well as a scientific interest in the study of natural theology. The truths taught have a bearing upon our lives. Natural theology may enable every walk through field or forest, every hour with telescope or microscope, every glance within and every look without, to be a walk with God, purifying, inspiring, and enlarging the soul.

FOURTHLY, *natural theology prepares the way by its conclusions for Christianity.* The Biblical revelations are neither addressed to those who are disbelievers in the divine existence, nor doubters. The revelations made to or by patriarchs, prophets, and apostles all appeal to an earlier knowledge of God. Long before Paul directed attention to the unknown God whom the Athenians worshipped, Moses commenced the Book of the Genesis by saying, as if his words required no prior reasoning or explanation, "In the beginning God."

This method is characteristic of the revelation in both law and gospel. It is a Deity already known and feared who makes a covenant at Sinai. Even at the Burning Bush it is revealed to Moses *what* God is, not *that* He is. Similarly the experiences of the new birth presuppose the experiences of the natural birth. This is the divine method at all times and in all places. God meets man in common life before He meets him at Sinai or Calvary. Christianity cannot present its miracles until natural theology has emphasized the universal order. Prophecy cannot be adjudged supernatural until the limitations of the natural have been appreciated. Before revealed theology can minister to the salvation and satisfaction of man, natural theology must emphasize human shortcomings and need. Or, turning to the Bible itself, it is noteworthy how the Scriptures insist again and again on the manifestation of God in nature as preparing the way for superior revelations. "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth His handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard;" so it is said in the Nineteenth Psalm. Or listen to another Psalm: "Understand, ye brutish among the people: and ye fools, when will ye be wise? He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? He that formed the eye, shall He not see? He that chastiseth the nations, shall not He correct? He that teacheth man knowledge, shall not He know?" Or hear the words of Paul at Lystra: "Sirs, why do ye these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God, which made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things that are therein: Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless, He left not Himself without witness, in that He did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness." The conclusions of natural theology were equally the basis of Paul's appeal at Athens, when he said: "God, that made the world, and all things therein, seeing that He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is

worshipped with men's hands, as though He needed anything, seeing He giveth to all life and breath, and all things; and hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He be not far from any one of us: For in Him we live and move and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, 'For we also are His offspring.' Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device." Quite characteristically also Paul writes to the Romans as a preface to his statement of the gospel: "The invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because that when they knew God, they glorified Him not as God, neither were thankful."

FIFTHLY, *natural theology supplies the Christian advocate with many valuable weapons.* As Bishop Butler has shown once for all, in his immortal "Analogy," there is a likeness between the natural world and the world of revelation even in difficulties, and the objections taken by many against Christianity equally lie against nature. If Scripture confronts us with the idea that our present life is a probation, that is to say, a state of trial and discipline, in reality natural theology has no other message to deliver. Let but the varied harmony be seen between the realms of nature and revelation, and revelation straightway becomes more credible. The natural evidence for immortality renders the teaching of the Bible as to a future life more easy of belief. The providence seen in history prepares the mind for the providence seen in Scripture. There are innumerable points of contact between the truths of Christianity and the truths of natural religion; and in these days of conflict between the teachers of natural and religious science, it is just the truths of natural theology which require careful restatement and illustration; for these truths once conceded, the way

would be prepared for the more exalted and specific truths of Christianity. For,

SIXTHLY, *natural theology declares its own inadequacy to meet the deepest needs of man, and thus gives an invaluable auxiliary testimony to the Christian advocate.* The evidence is wide, and can only be hinted at. The evidence consists in a series of contrasts which natural theology presents, but is unable to resolve. For example, reason demands that the Infinite God be infinite in perfection, but natural theology shows many a spot upon the ermine of strict justice and goodness, judging humanly, for virtue is often its own reward alone, and misery untold belies a complete happiness. Again, nature discloses the pain of conscious failure in the attainment of ideal bliss, whilst nevertheless it certainly awakens the longing after perfection. Again, that man stands in need of a regeneration nature teaches, but not what that regeneration is. Again, nature can show that man cries out for fellowship with God, being restless without worship, and nature can show that the more moral man becomes the louder is the cry for Deity, but nature cannot bestow rest of soul. Yet again, the probability of a future life nature can demonstrate, but nature is silent as to the manner and laws of that life to come. Or yet again, to select one great instance of necessity frequently cited, nature paints strongly man's sin and need of forgiveness, but it has no suggestions to offer as to how God can justly forgive, and sinful man be justly forgiven. As said Dr. Chalmers, with his characteristic pungency and flow: "Bishop Butler speaks of Christianity as a supplement to natural religion; and it may readily be thought that the more which natural religion discovers, the less may Christianity have to supplement. But, in truth, it is all the other way. For let us only consider what the doctrines are on which the natural theology of science might possibly cast a greater light than the natural theology of conscience. Does it multiply the proofs for the existence of God? then it only enhances the obligation under which we lie, of giving most solemn and respectful entertainment to any message that bears upon it the signature of a likely revelation from Himself. Or does it tell more forcibly and fully of His cha-

racter? then surely it will but strengthen His claim of being listened to when He speaketh, and believed in when He makes known His ways and His judgments to the children of men. Or does it look on the divine economy under which we sit, as having in it the nature of a divine government, where God is the rightful sovereign, and we the rightful subjects of His authority?—does it look on the jurisprudence which this relation implies as a reality? then all we ask is but a philosophic stedfastness and consistency at its hands, that it may look at the question, 'How shall God, in the high office of a lawgiver, deal with men, the undoubted transgressors of His law?' as a reality also, not to be blinked but disposed of. Or, by help of its sounder ethics, does it lead us to regard His truth and justice as no less the distinct and integral characteristics of the Deity, than are His benevolence and wisdom? this does not lay the perplexity, but only makes it all the more helpless and embarrassing; for how shall a God with such attributes leave either the sins of our history unreckoned with, or the sanctities of His own nature without a vindication? To make clear the terms of the dilemma is one thing, to solve the dilemma is another. Natural theology achieves but the first. The second is beyond her. She can tell the difficulty, but she cannot resolve it."[1]

SEVENTHLY, *natural theology may aid devotion.* "What delight can be more elevating, more truly worthy of a rational creature's enjoyment, than to feel, wherever we tread the paths of scientific inquiry, new evidence springing up around our footsteps — new traces of divine intelligence and power meeting our eye! We are never alone; at least, like the old Roman, we are never less alone than in our solitude. We walk with the Deity."[2]

[1] *Select Works of Dr. Chalmers*, edited by William Hanna, Edinburgh 1856, vol. vii. pp. 123, 124.

[2] Brougham, *A Discourse of Natural Theology*, 3rd edit., London 1835, p. 196.

§ 17.

DIVISION OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

THE division of natural theology is not difficult. Like all sciences, natural theology, which is the knowledge of the supernatural relations of man as given in nature, and as studied scientifically, consists of data and of inductions. Hence follow its two primary divisions, viz. first, the data of natural theology, and second, the inductions of natural theology. The data of natural theology are best arranged under the heads of the several divisions of natural science, as given in § 10. With respect to the inductions of natural theology, some have thought that these inductions are identical with the so-called theistic argument, or the natural grounds for believing in the existence of a personal Deity. But the data of natural theology permit of valid inductions of a much wider scope than that of the being and attributes of one God. By common consent the acquaintance man has been able to make with the facts and laws of the supramundane universe has enabled him to classify the entire results of his inquiry under the following heads, viz. the doctrines of God, of angels, of the world, of man, of Christ, of salvation, of the church, and of the last things. There is much difference of opinion as to the collocation or subordination of these several classes, but there is unanimity as to the fact of these doctrines being exhaustive. Now from nature we get no knowledge concerning the doctrines of Christ, of salvation, of the church, and of the last things; these doctrines, originating not in the common experience of man, but from express revelation, and thus being, according to our definition, outside the pale of natural theology. However, natural theology does give information of a more or less important kind concerning each of the other classes, and hence these classes may be conveniently used in

arranging the inferences of this branch of science. The order of the several classes will be determined as usual by the law of advance from the simpler to the more complex.

The whole scheme of division will therefore be—

I. The Data of Natural Theology, or the knowledge of the supernatural relations of man, as given in—

1. Mathematics.
2. Physics.
3. Chemistry.
4. Astronomy.
5. Biology.
6. Geology.
7. Mental Science.
8. Sociology.

II. The Inductions of Natural Theology, concerning—

1. God (Natural Theology Proper).
2. Spirits (Natural Pneumatology).
3. World (Natural Cosmology).
4. Man (Natural Anthropology).
5. Sin (Natural Ponerology).

§ 18.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

NOR is the study of natural theology by any means unexplored ground. Very many books have been written upon the religious teachings of nature. Reflections upon the spiritual aspects of the universe are as old apparently as literature, and almost as old as human contemplation. Nevertheless, in tracing the principal phases of the history of natural theology, we are not concerned with the entire range of works which treat of natural religion. Natural theology deals, it is true, with the knowledge of God, and of human relations with God as far as that knowledge can be gained from the natural world ; but natural theology deals with that knowledge in scientific form. Various classes of investigations into natural religion are straightway cleared from our path by such a definition.

For, first, be it observed, we are not concerned with the literature of natural religion itself, but of natural religion as scientifically treated. The religious contemplations of poet or philosopher only enter into our plan as they form the data for orderly and connected treatment. However interesting the religious myths of earlier times, or the religious imaginings of later days, the labours of Hercules or the musings of Wordsworth, they are all excluded from our present view as having no pretension to be scientific.

Secondly, we have nothing to do with works upon theosophy as they have been called. Amongst the mystics, as those are called who pretend to learn all about things divine by their peculiar faculty of contemplation, there has usually been one section, who, to adopt Arthur Vaughan's[1] classification, have not been *theopathetic*, as he names those who receive divine

[1] *Hours with the Mystics*, London, 2nd edit., 1860, vol. i. p. 27.

manifestations whilst they are mentally passive as they believe; nor *theurgic*, those who claim to obtain supernatural powers by contemplation; but *theosophic*, capable as they think of learning all about God and His works by means of a special vision of their own. Theosophy is neither philosophy nor theology; for, whilst philosophy investigates the ideas given in reason, according to logical processes, theosophy has nothing to do with dialectics, deriving its knowledge, as it believes, from direct and immediate vision; and whilst theology brings the methods of science to bear upon all varieties of religious data, theosophy receives its conclusions as well as its facts from contemplation alone. Theosophy has undoubtedly played a considerable part in the world, from the days of the Delphic oracle to those of Madame Blavatsky; the Neo-Platonists were theosophists; so were many of the mediæval mystics; so were Paracelsus and Behmen and Swedenborg. But in this place we are not concerned with theosophy, the divine in nature as disclosed to an individual apprehension, but with natural theology, the science of the religious facts of nature as generalized by logical processes and open to all who care to study them.

Nor, thirdly, have we even to do with the history of any branch of natural theology, such as the argument from design or the natural argument for the immortality of the soul. Interesting as it is to find the argument from design, for example, stated almost as clearly by Socrates and Aristotle, Cicero and Seneca, as by Paley and Chalmers, M'Cosh and Janet, we are nevertheless not concerned with the development of any single section of natural theology. What we have to do is to characterize the leading epochs in the investigation of natural theology, their causes and their effects.

Natural theology, in the exact sense of the words, has always sprung into life whenever, in the revolt against atheism or authority, the need has been strongly felt for presenting the whole of Christian truth in reasoned form. It is therefore with no surprise that we observe *the lapse of centuries in the Christian Church before its appearance.* The necessity of contending earnestly for individual doctrines of God, or

Christ, or man, everywhere seen before the days of Charlemagne, gave birth to many a statement of the natural evidence for the being of God or the sinfulness of man; but just as the times were not ripe for a systematic study of the truths of Scripture, they were also immature for a systematic study of the truths of nature. Even in THE SCHOLASTIC AGE, when systematization had become a passion, many years passed, the epoch had almost reached its decadence, before a work on natural theology appeared, not unintelligibly, seeing that the majority of scholastics were quite satisfied with a basis of authority, whether in Scripture or tradition, for their elaborate systems. The question seems scarcely to have occurred to these framers of doctrinal systems, upon what sound basis does my foundation of authority itself rest? It was, however, a scholastic, but a scholastic who lived after the awakening called the Revival of Learning, RAYMOND DE SABUNDE, who as the father of natural theology introduced a new view of doctrinal method which gave mental repose to many when the belief in ecclesiastical authority had become undermined. Raymond was a professor of medicine, philosophy, and theology at Toulouse early in the fifteenth century, and it would seem that his great pioneer work, his *Theologia Naturalis, sive Liber Creaturarum*, was finished "in 1436, in the month of February, the sixth day, which was the Sabbath day."[1] The book perhaps is best known by Montaigne's French translation and by Montaigne's essay, included in his collected Essays, entitled "Apology for Raymond Sebonde." The spirit of the book may be gathered from the following extract; the translation is Hallam's:—"Two books have been given us by God: namely, that of the created universe, or the book of nature; the other, the book of Holy Scripture. The first was given to man from the beginning, when the universe was framed, since every creature is but a certain letter written by the finger of God, and out of the mass of creatures, as from many letters, the book is composed. To this book man belongs, and is the chief letter in it. . . . But the second book

[1] See Kleiber, *De Raimundi quem vocant de Sabunde vita et scriptis*, Berlin 1856, for all that is discoverable about this man and his one book; also comp. Hallam, *Literature of Europe*.

of Scripture was given to man subsequently, and this for the insufficiency of the first book, since man, as blind, knew not how to read in the first. Still, the first book of creation is common to all, while clerks only know how to read the other." There is much in the book worth reading to-day, and the statement of the theistic argument, which occupies forty-five chapters, is admirable; so are the references to human duty and retribution; but the method is pushed to extremes; there is no clear recognition of the limits of the rational method; an attempt is even made to prove such characteristic revelations of the New Testament as the Trinity and the new birth by the revelations in nature.

The agitations of THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY were unfavourable to the study of natural theology. It was the age of great commotions, because the age of great inspirations. It was the age of Luther and Galileo, of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the martyrdom of Giordano Bruno. Natural science and the Bible had each their resurrection, but their advocates had quite enough to do in separately fighting the Inquisition, to think of possible alliance. Such times are days of exaggeration and independence, not of conciliation and moderation. Half a century had to pass after the great struggles of Luther before the awakened thought and life of Europe could become calm.

At the beginning of THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, however, two currents of thought are seen to be flowing full and fast side by side. On the one hand there is the great stream of Protestantism, and on the other hand there is the great stream of natural research, with its two fountainheads of Bacon and Descartes. Are the two streams moving in the same or in contrary directions? For a time the question scarcely arises, theology being content to go its way, and science and philosophy theirs. But before long the Protestant systems are compelled, in reference to the scepticism of Hobbes and the unsettlement caused by the Synod of Dort, to declare whether there shall be alliance or defiance, and it soon becomes evident that the rational methods of procedure could render valuable aid to the cause of theology. Natural theology at once came prominently forward. And, as might have been

anticipated,—for the study was peculiarly congenial to the English mind,—natural theology had its new birth in England. The great religious party known as the Cambridge Platonists, and the great scientific party which founded the Royal Society and the Boyle Lectures, prosecuted the study of natural theology most diligently. Many books on the subject appeared, the most prominent of which, in the Cambridge School, were Cumberland's *De Legibus Naturæ*, 1672; Cudworth's *Intellectual System of the Universe*, 1678; More's *Immortality of the Soul*, 1659, and *The Grand Mystery of the Universe*, 1662; Bishop Wilkins' treatise *Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion*, 1675 (9th edit., 1734); Ralph Culverwell's *Discourse on the Light of Nature*, 1652, etc.; John Howe's *Living Temple*, 1st part, 1675; Stillingfleet's *Origines Sacræ, or a Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Revealed Religion*, 1662; and Hooker's opening books of his great *Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1676. As has been well said by Gillett, p. 479, "In the Cambridge Platonic School we meet with a group of writers, which is characterized, notwithstanding distinct and well-marked peculiarities, by a family likeness. Against the intrusion of a radical scepticism, they recognised the necessity of going back of the asserted authority of revealed religion, and its historical evidences, to certain truths fundamental to all religion, and which had been conceded by the greatest minds of the past, because they commended themselves to the reason of all thoughtful men. Some of these writers were distinguished by mystic tendencies; some were pre-eminent as students of the ancient philosophy; some, like Wilkins, were competent masters of the best science of their day; but they were led alike, either by their own tastes, or by the controversial scepticism of the time, to take their stand alike on the ground of natural theology, and vindicate much of what they deemed fundamental to Christianity, by similar methods." How widespread and lasting their influence was will presently appear. As fellow-workers from another quarter came the Royal Society and Robert Boyle, the founder of the Boyle Lectures, a few of the most characteristic productions from these sources being—Ward, *Philosophical Essay towards our Eviction of the Being*

and Attributes of God, the Immortality of the Souls of Men, and the Truth and Authority of Scripture, 1652; Kenelm Digby, *Of Bodies and of Man's Soul, to Discover the Immortality of Reasonable Souls,* 1669; Tillotson's *Principles and Duties of Natural Religion,* 1674; John Ray, *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation,* 1st edit. 1691, 8th edit. 1724; William Bates, *Considerations on the Existence of God, and of the Immortality of the Soul,* 1676; the *Physico-Theology* and *Astro-Theology* of William Derham, the former of which reached a sixth edition in 1723, and the latter a third edition in 1719; and the famous Boyle Lectures of Dr. Samuel Clarke, entitled *Demonstrations of the Being and Attributes of God,* 1704. By all these writers, and a host of others of more or less weight, the truths of natural theology were proclaimed, and their place assigned as a basis and preparation for the truths of revealed theology. Nor should we omit, as a diligent co-worker in this field, the honoured name of Richard Baxter, who in his *Reasons of the Christian Religion,* published in 1667, gives a large place to the discussion of natural theology, its teachings and its relation to revelation, not even hesitating to say: "There is so much lovely in a Cato, Cicero, Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus, Plutarch, . . . that it obligeth us not only to love them benevolently, but with much complacence: and as I will learn from nature itself what I can, so also from these students of nature: . . . all that is true and good in their religion, as far as I can discern it, shall be part of mine" (*Works,* London 1838, vol. ii. p. 78). Baxter's two treatises, *On the Immortality of the Soul, and the Nature of it, and of other Spirits,* 1682, also deserve mention; as does Bishop Parker's *Demonstration of the Divine Authority of the Law of Nature and of the Christian Religion,* published in the preceding year.

So well, however, had the advocates of the exalted merits of natural theology done their work,—carrying their contention indeed to the verge of exaggeration, and certainly tending to conceal the altogether distinct and peculiar claims of the Bible,—that it is not to be wondered at that before long the very weapons forged in defence of Christianity were turned against the specific Christian truths. Soon the truths of

natural theology were so emphasized by the DEISTIC PARTY as to imply that the distinctive Christian truths were either untrue or unnecessary. If Christian theology contradicted natural theology it was declared untrue, and if it reiterated what had been previously known from nature, it was pronounced unnecessary. Toland availed himself, for example, of the incautious remark of Dr. Whichcote, "that natural religion was eleven parts in twelve of all religion," and published, amongst his many writings, his *Nazarenus, or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity*, 1718, in which he asserted the triviality of the characteristic differences of Judaism, Mahometanism, and Islam, and the transcendent importance of the law of nature in which these systems agreed. Other prominent freethinkers, as those were called who accentuated natural to the discredit of revealed theology, were Collins, whose views are well seen in his *Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, 1724, a book to which, as Collins himself states, thirty-five distinct replies were made by leading Christian thinkers; Woolston, a more serious opponent of revealed truth, especially in his *Moderator between an Infidel and an Apostle, and the Controversy between the Author of "The Discourse on the Grounds, etc.," and his Reverend Ecclesiastical Opponents set in a Clear Light*, a book apparently which suggested to Strauss his peculiar method of attack on the Gospels; and Tindal, in his *Christianity as Old as the Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature*, 1730, esteemed of sufficient importance to evoke replies from Burnet, Law, Berkeley, Leland, amidst a host of smaller writers. In such writers we see rationalism *in excelsis*, and the *lumen naturæ* constituted the sole criterion of truth.

To these exaggerated claims of the advocates of a theology exclusively natural, the English Churches made TWO GREAT REPLIES, the one showing conclusively the insufficiency of natural theology, and the other as conclusively disclosing the insufficiency of the natural theologians. Whilst theoretical perfection was being strenuously claimed for natural theology, its practical incompetence to redeem men was increasingly manifest, and under the polished delivery of moral essays,

churches were emptied and souls were perishing. Hence one great reply made by the Churches. The controversies on the sufficiency of natural theology died out, practically disproved, on the magnificent revival of goodness amongst the most degraded which followed the preaching of Whitfield and Wesley. On the other hand, side by side with the practical answer made by aggressive Christian labour, there rose THE CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE SCHOOL, as they are often called, which met the anti-Christian natural theologians on their own ground and vanquished them. Miracles were shown to be more than wonders exaggerated by ignorance or enthusiasm. The natural explanation of prophecy was proved inadequate. The authenticity of the Gospels and the Books of Moses were successfully vindicated. It has been customary of late, it is true, to depreciate the value of this Christian Evidence School, but their only sin was that they wrote for their own age, and not for this. In their own day and generation they wrought hard, long, and well, and rendered very eminent service to the Christian cause. Without mentioning at length the numerous books which appeared in refutation of the several books of Toland, Collins, Woolston, and Tindal,—the first of whom brought down upon himself quite a library upon the importance of Christianity in general, the second a library upon the importance of prophecy, the third created a literature on the miracles of Jesus, and the last arrayed against himself all the strength of the Christian party on the value of revelation,—it will suffice to name several books which form a permanent contribution to Christian knowledge. One great product of the long deistic controversy was the works of Nathaniel Lardner, especially his *Credibility of the Gospel History*, published in London in five volumes from 1727–1743. The best edition of Dr. Lardner's works is that by Dr. Andrew Kippis, London 1788, in eleven volumes 8vo, several times reprinted. Though a century and a half old, these writings of Lardner's are still indispensable to the accurate student, and large parts of Paley's popular book on the Christian evidences are little else than an abstract of Lardner. Indeed, the eulogy of Dr. Horne was not extravagant when he said: "In the applause of Dr. Lardner all

parties of Christians are united, regarding him as the champion of their common and holy faith. Secker, Porteus, Watson, Tomline, Jortin, Hay, and Paley, of the Anglican Church; Doddridge, Kippis, and Priestley, among the Dissenters; and all foreign Biblical critics, have rendered public homage to his learning, his fairness, and his great merits as a Christian apologist. The candid of the literati of the Romish communion have extolled his labours; and even Morgan and Gibbon, professed unbelievers, have awarded to him the meed of faithfulness and impartiality. By collecting a mass of scattered evidences in favour of the authenticity of the evangelical history, he established a bulwark on the side of truth which infidelity has never presumed to attack." Dr. Thomas Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection of Jesus*, 1729, was another very able and popular book, which has passed through many editions, and may be read with profit and amusement to-day. William Law's *Case of Reason, or Natural Religion, Fairly and Fully Stated*, 1731, also deserves mention, as well as the several writings of Dr. Samuel Clarke. But the long deistic controversy, with its exaggeration of the importance of natural theology, gave birth to another book of first-class importance, the famous "Analogy" of Bishop Butler. It was in 1732 that Butler presented to Queen Anne the manuscript of his *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*, and in 1736 that the first edition was published, in London as a quarto, and in Dublin in two small octavo volumes. The work has been very frequently republished. It would be easy to fill pages with the high praises of such competent critics as Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Reid, Dr. Chalmers, and Bishop Wilson. Says the last justly, as one of the editors of Butler, "the 'Analogy' has fixed the admiration of all competent judges for nearly a century, and will continue to be studied so long as the language in which he wrote endures. The mind of a master pervades it. . . . He takes his place with Bacon and Pascal and Newton, those mighty geniuses who opened new sources of information on the most important subjects, and commanded the love and gratitude of mankind." Written under the exigencies of a

prolonged deistic attack, and displaying therefore many a detail of purely temporary interest, the "Analogy" nevertheless opened up a line of argument of perennial force and the widest application. It was something to have so demonstrated the analogy existing between the realms of nature and of grace as to show that there was no halting-place for the deist between Christian belief and utter disbelief; but it was more to have depicted once for all the unity of plan between the kingdoms of nature and revelation as to compel the conviction of their common origin. That Butler expected his book to have both results, is manifest from his own words, when he says, in the eighth chapter of his second part, "This treatise will be, to such as are convinced of religion upon the proof arising out of the two last-mentioned principles (of liberty and necessity), an additional proof, and a confirmation of it; to such as do not admit those principles, an original proof of it, and a confirmation of that proof. Those who believe will here find the scheme of Christianity cleared of objections, and the evidence of it in a peculiar manner strengthened; those who do not believe will at least be shown the absurdity of all attempts to prove Christianity false, the plain, undoubted credibility of it, and, I hope, a good deal more." The book remains as one of the greatest monuments of its age, obscure in style, yet packed in thought, and deserving the honour and study of all ages. It was the last word of its epoch.

The CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, not in themselves peculiarly favourable to the prosecution of natural theology, saw, however, a revival of the theological study of nature on one side. This came from a revulsion against the teaching of Hume, who, in a posthumous work published in 1777, entitled *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, whilst appearing to advocate the cogency of the argument from design for the being of God, really insinuated objections against that argument. This covert attack of Hume's coloured the treatment of natural theology for several decades. Men like Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart took up the cudgels against Hume, and their influence was great as the leaders of the Scotch school of philosophy. But the great reply was

William Paley's, in his *Natural Theology*, which appeared in 1803, a work which stands even to-day as one of the most lucid and popular statements of the design argument. The materials of much of this work, it is true, were borrowed from a Dutch treatise by a Dr. Bernard Nieuwentyt, published in 1716, and introduced to the English public, in a translation, with the lengthy title, "The Religious Philosopher; or, the Right Use of Contemplating the Creator: I. In the Wonderful Structure of Animal Bodies, and, in particular, Man. II. In the no less Wonderful and Wise Formation of the Elements, and their Various Effects upon Animal and Vegetable Bodies. And III. In the most Amazing Structure of the Heavens, with all its Furniture, designed for the Conviction of Atheists and Infidels; throughout which all the Late Discoveries in Anatomy, Philosophy, and Astronomy, together with the Various Experiments made use of to illustrate the same, are most copiously handled by that learned mathematician, Dr. Nieuwentyt." The indebtedness of Paley to this book is undisputed; nevertheless the materials so derived are worked up in a manner all Paley's own. Paley has the honour of the incomparable form of his work. What was confused in the Dutch doctor, Paley made clear; what was tiresome he made impressive; what was halting he made cogent. Paley added very much original matter, and arranged and expressed the whole with his peculiar tact and lucidity. A valuable edition of this work, with notes and further illustrations, was published from 1836 to 1839 by Sir Charles Bell, Lord Brougham furnishing a valuable preliminary *Discourse of Natural Theology, showing the Nature of the Evidence and the Advantages of the Study*, which discourse has been separately published in several editions. This book of Paley's gave a peculiar impetus to the study of the theistic branch of natural theology in the first forty years of this century, its most important effect being the prompting the Earl of Bridgewater to leave a considerable sum of money, to be given to a series of writers to be appointed by the President of the Royal Society, "on the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as manifested in the creation; illustrating such work by all reasonable arguments,

as, for instance, the variety and formation of God's creatures in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms; the effect of digestion, and thereby of conversion; the construction of the hand of man, and an infinite variety of other arguments; as also by discoveries, ancient and modern, in arts, sciences, and the whole extent of literature." Hence originated the famous *Bridgewater Treatises.* They were eight in number, and were issued at intervals from 1834 to 1840. William Prout wrote on *Chemistry, Meteorology, and the Function of Digestion, considered with reference to Natural Theology.* William Kirby treated *The History, Habits, and Instincts of Animals.* Buckland examined from the standpoint of design *Geology and Mineralogy.* Sir Charles Bell took *The Hand, its Mechanism and Vital Endowments.* John Kidd showed *The Adaptation of External Nature to the Physical Condition of Man.* Chalmers expounded *The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man.* To Whewell was assigned *Astronomy and General Physics considered with reference to Natural Theology.* Roget investigated *Animal and Vegetable Physiology* with the same end in view. All these treatises appear in Bohn's *Standard Library*, and they have been translated into German. They rendered good service at the time of their publication, and, although much of their science is obsolete, may be read with profit to-day. This is especially true of Whewell's contribution to the series and Sir Charles Bell's.

Valuable, however, as was the work of Paley, that work unmistakeably gave a false twist to the scientific study of the knowledge of God and His relation to man as given in nature. Paley's book was not a natural theology, but only one branch of natural theology, or rather one branch of a branch, the teleological branch of the theistic argument. But this distinction has been too much lost sight of, and with some deplorable consequences. It has been only too common a blunder to identify natural theology and the design argument. The result has been that for some while natural theology has been banished from view. The immediate, although by no means the inevitable effect of the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species,* in 1859, was to lessen the influence of

writers of the school of Paley, for as Huxley has ventured to express himself in his *Lay Sermons*, "that which struck (him) most forcibly on his first perusal of the *Origin of Species* was the conviction that teleology, as commonly understood, had received its death-blow at Mr. Darwin's hands." As a matter of fact, the design argument, as drawn from all other sciences than biology, is untouched by the theory of natural selection, and biology itself is now seen to afford strong evidence for design, stronger evidence indeed than before; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, the limitation of natural theology to teleology has been disastrous, for in the momentary disfavour of teleology natural theology in its wider sense has ceased to be widely cultivated. Another predisposing element in the current neglect of natural theology lies in the prevalence of evolutionary views of a pantheistic kind. But the history of the past shows one thing clearly. If agnostic views are to be vanquished, they will be largely overthrown by showing how the scientific principles of nature, pushed to their ultimate consequences, necessitate belief in a personal power above nature. A very pressing want of the time is a good book on natural theology.

§ 19.

OUTLINE OF NATURAL THEOLOGY.

IF, however, a satisfactory book, level with modern requirements, has yet to be written, the main lines which such a book must follow are tolerably evident. First, as laid down in § 17, the data of natural theology would have to be collected from the wide range of the physical sciences. The several contributions to these data already to hand need not be specifically mentioned here, a fairly adequate guide thereto as regards recent books being given in the next section, and much valuable material having been referred to in the previous section. Secondly, from these data it would be necessary to draw the various inductions they warrant. The survey must not be too limited. So far, for example, from being identical with the design argument, as some have appeared to think, the inductions of natural theology group themselves, as has been seen, under five heads,—the natural doctrines of God, of spirits, of the world, of man, and of sin. In outline, then, the results of natural theology would shape themselves somewhat as follows:—

In the FIRST place, *the study of nature leads to certain definite views upon the being and character of the Deity.*

Two problems always confront man in his supernatural relations, and he finds himself compelled to inquire, on the one hand, whether man can know the supernatural, and secondly, what man can know of the supernatural. Atheists and agnostics exclude the second question by negativing the first. Atheists—or antitheists, as we may preferably say to avoid the uncharitable associations of the former word—are again divisible into two great classes, namely, materialists, who deny the existence of spirit, and pantheists, who deny everything but the existence of spirit. Now these three

antitheistic theories of things—the materialistic, the pantheistic, and the agnostic—natural theology, pursuing its peculiar method, and without borrowing weapons from revelation, rejects as inharmonious in each case with the facts of the universe. Natural theology, answering the first question as to the cognizability of God by elaborating its reply to the second question, declares for theism, that is to say, for a personal Deity, as the primal source of all things, and this on an examination of the arguments of the three great antagonistic classes themselves. Further, natural theology lays down a series of arguments of a positive nature in favour of a theistic theory of the universe. These arguments have been commonly classified as *a priori* and *a posteriori*, the former being deductive and inferring the existence of God from the existence of His idea, and the latter being inductive, deriving the existence of God from various data in the constitution of nature. This, at least, is the better definition of that protean phrase *a priori*, the meaning of which has almost varied with the dominant philosophical school. Natural theology, however, has learnt to place but little reliance in the so-called *a priori* argument, for, in spite of the array of great names who have regarded this proof of the being of God cogent, Augustine and Anselm, Descartes and Pfleiderer, Lipsius and Dorner, every form of the argument appears to assume at the outset the identity of the thought and the fact of God. Natural theology does lay, however, great stress upon the several inductive arguments for the being and attributes of God. All these arguments are but aspects of the law of causation, according to which every effect must have a cause capable of producing it. These several inductive theistic arguments are as follows. There is the great *intuitive argument* for the being of God, according to which, as evidenced by individual and universal experience, man adds to a consciousness of the external world and a consciousness of self a consciousness of God. As when the external world comes in contact with the senses, they image that world, similarly as when the organs of introspection are awake to the world within us, they reflect that world, so, it is argued by natural theology, when the spiritual world, or the great

Spirit, comes in contact with the human spirit, the spiritual touch may be felt, an intuitive knowledge of God may be gained. Natural theology also shows the laws of this intuitive apprehension of Deity,—how it pertains to the realm of feeling rather than intellect, and so has not attained intellectual expression,—how, like all the other faculties which apprehend God, this faculty may become finer and more precious by suitable training,—how, further, like all the senses which afford us intuitions, the spiritual sense which gives us intuitions of God may become blurred and dulled by misuse, and may possibly illustrate the great law of heredity,—and how, lastly, the proper course from the relative blindness and ignorance of nature to clearer vision of God is practical, namely, purification of the spiritual vision by obedience to the moral law. Having shown this internal mirroring of God, a consciousness which is, like all intuitions, more or less vivid, according both to the vividness of the external cause and also to the apprehensive power of the faculty concerned, natural theology, which teaches the rudimentary character of this universal God-consciousness, proceeds to give precision, distinctness, and intelligibility to this intuition, by unfolding other inductive arguments for the being and character of God. Natural theology brings forward *the cosmological argument*, as it is called, or the argument for a First Cause of the universe which is not the universe. Natural theology then proceeds to *the argument from order*, and dwelling on the fact that the entire universe displays regularity or law, and also dwelling on the further fact that regularity is characteristic of mind as far as our experience goes, declares for the intelligence of the First Cause. Then *the argument from design*, or *final cause*, as it is sometimes called, the *teleological argument*, is brought in, which, first demonstrating the adaptation of means to ends apparent in all the researches of science, and next insisting on the mental origin of all adaptation of means to produce ends, again declares for the intelligence of the First Cause. Yet again, natural theology emphasizes important further consequences of the argument from causation, at the same time that it draws certain irrefragable corollaries from its previous conclusions. For example, a First Cause of the universe must be infinite, in the

sense of being able to produce an infinite succession of innumerable finite causes. Then the intelligent First Cause must be eternal. Further, it is in the nature of a First Cause to be self-existent. Further still, the intelligence of the First Cause declares Him Life, Spirit, Person. Yet again, the arguments from causation and order coalesce to show the unity of the First Cause. These are all corollaries from previous arguments; but there are important additional inferences which may be drawn from the principle of sufficient cause. There are all the implications of the *anthropological arguments.* There are, natural theology contends, various unresolvable attributes of man, such as his intelligence, self-consciousness, freewill, feeling, the sense of the good, the sense of the true, and the sense of the beautiful; now, remembering that these attributes which are incapable of resolution into simpler constituents must have an adequate cause, natural theology points out how these several human attributes necessitate belief, not only in the intelligence of the First Cause, but in His self-knowledge, His freedom, His sensitiveness, His perception of the good and the true and the beautiful. These are the declarations of the natural doctrine of God in outline,—that there is a First Cause of all things, a Person, a Spirit, eternal, self-existent, infinite in intelligence, will, and feeling, free, the Supreme Truth, the Supreme Beauty, the Supreme Goodness.

SECONDLY,—and after the preceding statement of the general line of argument it is unnecessary to speak of the remaining classes of induction at length,—*the study of nature leads to certain definite views both as to the existence of spirit as apart from body, and as to the existence of spirits disembodied or non-corporate.* The wide field of inquiry as to this latter branch of inquiry is only just being prosecuted with care, and even the former subject is beginning to take fresh forms under the prosecution of psychological researches.

THIRDLY, *the study of nature leads to certain definite views as to the origin, the conservation, and the destiny of the visible universe.*

FOURTHLY, *the study of nature leads to certain definite views as to the origin, nature, and destiny of man.*

FIFTHLY, *the study of nature leads to certain definite views as to the nature, the origin, and the consequences of sin, the degeneration it produces, and the punishment it deserves.*

In short, to ignore the inductions which may be logically inferred from the facts of the natural universe is to close the eye upon a very important series of conclusions, universal in their bearings, the divinely appointed foundations upon which to build higher truth.

§ 20.

BOOKS ON NATURAL THEOLOGY RECOMMENDED.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

BUTLER, JOSEPH, *The Analogy of Religion to the Constitution and Course of Nature.* A good edition is that by Joseph Angus, 12mo, containing a life of Butler, a careful analysis, and good notes. Religious Tract Society. [With all its drawbacks still the best book as an introduction to natural theology. The study of Butler should be accompanied by the study of some good book on theism, see (4.) under this section.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *On the History of Natural Theology.*

LELAND, JOHN, *View of the Principal Deistical Writers that have appeared in England in the Last and Present Century, with Observations upon them, and some Account of the Answers that have been published against them in several Letters to a Friend,* 1754, 2 vols. The best edition is the fifth, which has a continuation by Cyrus R. Edmonds put in the form of an introduction, 1837. [The standard contemporary work on the history of English deism.]

LECHLER, G. V., *Geschichte der Englischen Deismus,* Stuttgart 1841. [The best German book on the subject of English deism.]

NOACK, L., *Die Freidenker in der Religion,* 3 vols., Berne 1853–55. [In the first volume the English deists are treated, in the second their descendants the French

freethinkers, and in the third their Teutonic descendants, the leaders of the so-called German enlightenment, thus supplementing the history of English by that of Continental deism.]

PATTISON, MARK, the Essay on "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688–1750," in the *Essays and Reviews*, 1st edit. [A short essay closely packed with facts and doubtful generalizations.]

ACKERMANN, C., *The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy, translated from the German by S. R. Asbury, with an Introductory Note by William G. T. Shedd.* T. & T. Clark, 1861. [Aims at presenting the special points of contact between Platonism and Christianity.]

FARRAR, A. S., *A Critical History of Free Thought in reference to the Christian Religion*, 1863. The Bampton Lectures for 1862. [Blends history with pertinent criticism.]

HAGENBACH, K. R., *German Rationalism, its Rise, Progress, and Decline*, Edinburgh 1865. [Part of Hagenbach's well-known *Church History*, translated; able and very readable.]

LECKY, W. E., *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*, 2 vols., 1st edit. 1866, Longmans, 7th edit. 1875. [Sketches the decline of belief in witchcraft, miracles, and persecution, together with the æsthetic, scientific, moral, and political developments of rationalism.]

HUNT, JOHN, *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to the End of Last Century: A Contribution to the History of Theology*, 2 vols., Strahan, 1871. [Chapters vi., viii., ix., xi., and xiii. contain an account both readable and thorough of the course of natural theology in England from the standpoint of a Broad Churchman.]

TULLOCH, JOHN, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols., Blackwood, 1872. [A good account of the Cambridge Platonists and their forerunners.]

GILLETT, E. H., *God in Human Thought, or Natural Theology traced in Literature, Ancient and Modern, to the Time of Bishop Butler, with a Closing Chapter on the Moral System,*

and an English Bibliography from Spencer to Butler, 2 vols., 1874, New York. [Treats of natural theology in the ancient religions, in Greek literature and philosophy, in the Roman world, in the early Christian Church, in scholasticism, as well as in post-Reformation times: a closely-packed and scholarly book.]

STEPHEN, LESLIE, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., 1876, 2nd edit., Smith, Elder, 1883. [An account of the deistic controversy from the standpoint of an agnostic.]

PFLEIDERER, O., see (10.) of this section.

PÜNJER, BERNHARD, *Geschichte der christlichen Religionsphilosophie seit der Reformation*, 2 vols., Brunswick 1880–83. [Traces the influences of philosophic speculation in religious matters from Cardan and Bruno, through English deism and its related schools, to Kant, Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Lotze.]

CAIRNS, JOHN, *Unbelief in the Eighteenth Century as contrasted with its Earlier and Later History*, Edinburgh 1881. [Reliable and readable. One series of the Cunningham Lectures.]

(2.) *On Natural Theology in general.*

M'COSH, JAMES, *The Method of the Divine Government, Physical and Moral*, 1st edit. 1850, 5th edit., Edinburgh 1856. [An inductive investigation into the moral character of God, as evidenced, first, in His providence or the relations of the world to man, and secondly, in His internal government, or the relations of man to God.]

SIMON, JULES, *Natural Religion, edited with Preface and Notes by J. B. Marsden*, the translation being made from the third French edition, Bentley, 1857, 12mo. [A powerful examination, from the standpoint of natural theology, of the nature of God, providence, immortality, and worship.]

ZÖCKLER, OTTO, *Theologia Naturalis, Entwurf einer systematischen Naturtheologie vom Offenbarungs-gläubigen Standpunkte aus*, Frankfort 1860. [Only one vol. published; contains a good history of the study of natural theology,

a suggestive statement of principles, and a careful examination of the teaching of nature on the being and attributes of God.]

Ulrici, Hermann, *Gott und die Natur*, Leipzig, 1st edit. 1861, 3rd edit. 1875. [An original book, over-tinctured, however, with speculation, which, setting out with the results of modern science (atoms, force, law, the several forces), aims at showing that the assumption of the divine existence is absolutely necessary to these scientific ideas.]

M'Cosh, James, *The Supernatural in relation to the Natural*, 12mo, Macmillan, 1862. [After a precise definition of terms, contends that there is law in the supernatural as well as the natural world, and that the laws of the two worlds are analogous.]

Buchanan, James, *Analogy considered as a Guide to Truth, and applied as an Aid to Faith.* Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1863. [A philosophic examination of the nature and limits of the argument from analogy.]

Leifchild, John R., *The Higher Ministry of Nature, viewed in the Light of Modern Science, and as an Aid to Advanced Christian Philosophy*, Hodder, 1872. [An earnest and eloquent attempt to reinvigorate natural theology.]

Murphy, J. J., *The Scientific Basis of Faith*, 1873. [Notable.]

Jackson, Wm., *The Philosophy of Natural Theology, an Essay in Confutation of the Scepticism of the Present Day*, Hodder, 1874. [Treats in order of the design argument, the materialistic, idealistic, and agnostic objections to theism, and the several constructive arguments of natural theology.]

Reynolds, J. W., *The Supernatural in Nature, a Verification by the Free Use of Science*, Kegan Paul, 1878. [A series of suggestive studies on various questions of natural theology, notably its testimony to the Biblical account of creation.]

Cellarius, *A New Analogy between Revealed Religion and the Course and Constitution of Nature*, 12mo, Macmillan, 1880. [Worth reading, but relies excessively, as Butler did not, on analogy as a teacher of positive truth.]

Matheson, Geo., *Natural Elements of Revealed Theology.* Nisbet, 1881, 12mo. [Well written.]

DRUMMOND, HENRY, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 12mo, Hodder, 1883. [Thirty thousand copies of this book were issued in twelve months. There is a fascination about both style and theme. The whole is a modern application of Butler's great argument of analogy, in this case based on the first principles of biology.]

TEMPLE, FREDERICK, Bishop of Exeter, *The Relations between Religion and Science*, Macmillan, 1884. The Bampton Lectures for 1884. [A lucid and subtle statement of the unity of the ultimate principles of science and religion.]

LE CONTE, JOSEPH, *Religion and Science: A Series of Sunday Lectures on the relation of Natural and Revealed Religion, or the Truths revealed in Nature and Scripture*, 12mo, Ward, Lock, & Tyler, no date; a reprint of the New York edition of 1874. [Very striking.]

(3.) *On the Contributions made by the Individual Sciences to Natural Theology.*

(See the several Bridgewater Treatises, named and characterized in § 18.)

BOWEN, FRANCIS, *Application of Metaphysical and Ethical Science to the Evidences of Religion*, Boston 1849. [Penetrating and acute.]

HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, *The Religion of Geology and its Connected Sciences*, 12mo, Collins; reprinted from the Boston edition of 1851. [An examination of the testimony of geology to the fundamental truths of natural and revealed religion.]

COOKE, J. P., *Religion and Chemistry, a Restatement of an old Argument*, 12mo, New York 1880, 1st edit. 1864. [Examines the testimony to theism given by the atmosphere and its constituents.]

(4.) *On the Natural Doctrine of God, Theism, and Antitheistic Theories in General.*

CUDWORTH, RALPH, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe, wherein all the Reason and Philosophy of*

Atheism is Confuted, London 1678, and many editions since. [Interesting even to-day for its vindication of a divine origin of the universe.]

MACULLOCH, JOHN, *Proofs and Illustrations of the Attributes of God from the Facts and Laws of the Physical Universe, being the Foundation of Natural and Revealed Religion*, 3 vols., 3rd edit. 1843. [An original book, still deserving of study from the variety of acquirements of its author, a medical man.]

THOMPSON, R. A., *Christian Theism, the Testimony of Reason and Revelation to the Existence and Character of the Supreme Being*, Burnett Prize Essay, 1st edit., Rivington, 1855, 2nd edit. 1863. [A careful examination both of the several antitheistic theories and of the several direct arguments for theism.]

TULLOCH, JOHN, *Theism, the Witness of Reason and Nature to an All-wise and Beneficent Creator*, Burnett Prize Essay, Edinburgh 1855. [In four sections, viz. (1) the principle of inductive evidence as applicable to the theistic argument; (2) illustrative inductive evidence of many kinds; (3) moral intuitive evidence; and (4) examination of various difficulties arising from the existence of physical and moral evil.]

GRATRY, A., *La Connaissance de Dieu*, 2 vols., Paris, 7th edit. 1864, 2 vols. 12mo, 1881. [Most suggestive studies of the natural doctrine of God in Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, Descartes, Pascal, Malebranche, Fénélon, Petavius, Thomassin, Bossuet, and Leibnitz.]

M'COSH, JAMES, and GEORGE DICKIE, *Typical Forms and Special Ends in Creation*, Edinburgh 1856, 2nd edit. [Rare; an able arrangement of the two great classes of facts which bear on theism, viz. those illustrative of order and those illustrative of special adaptation.]

ARGYLE, THE DUKE OF, *The Reign of Law*, Strahan, 1866, 5th edit. 1868, people's edition 1871, 12mo. [A statement, with many telling illustrations, of the reign of law in nature and in mind, together with the theistic implications.]

MILL, J. S., *Three Essays on Religion, viz. on Nature, the Utility*

of Religion, and Theism, 1st edit., Longmans, 1874. [The third essay, written just before the author's death, is remarkable, with all its shortcomings, as recognising both the cogency and the insufficiency of the leading conclusions of natural theology.]

JANET, PAUL, *Les Causes Finales*, Paris 1876: a translation by William Affleck, with a preface by Robert Flint, was issued by T. & T. Clark in 1878, 2nd edit. 1883. [Treats, somewhat rhetorically, of the evidence for the law of finality, and of its theistic cause.]

CONDER, EUSTACE R., *The Basis of Faith, a Critical Survey of the Grounds of Christian Theism.* The Congregational Lecture for 1877, Hodder, 2nd edit. 1881. [An admirable examination of the evidence for theism to be gained from mind, the physical universe, and the common facts of revelation.]

WOOD, J. G., *Nature's Teachings, or Human Invention anticipated by Nature*, 1877. [A varied series of parallels between the works of man and of nature.]

FLINT, ROBERT, *Theism, and Antitheistic Theories*, the Baird Lectures for 1876 and 1877; *Theism*, 4th edit. 12mo, 1883, Edinburgh; *Antitheistic Theories*, 2nd edit. 12mo, 1880, Edinburgh. [Constitute together a manual of the natural doctrine of God, the former volume dealing with the several theistic arguments, and the latter with atheism, materialism, positivism, secularism, pessimism, and pantheism, both volumes being enriched by scholarly appendices, especially strong in the history of the related subjects.]

BLACKIE, JOHN STUART, *The Natural History of Atheism*, Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1877, 12mo. [A pungent and original insistence on the naturalness of theism and the pathology of atheism, including a study of Buddhism.]

PHYSICUS, *A Candid Examination of Theism*, vol. ix. in Trübner's English and Foreign Philosophical Library, 1878. [Endeavours to show the inconclusiveness of the several arguments from theism, and because of its ability should be read on the principle of knowing the worst.]

RUNZE, G., *Der Ontologische Gottesbeweis, kritische Darstellung*

seines Geschichte seit Anselm bis auf die Gegenwart, Halle 1881. [An able presentation of the various ontological proofs, not in chronological but in philosophic order.]

HARRIS, SAMUEL, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism, an Examination of the Personality of Man to ascertain his Capacity to Know and Serve God, and the Validity of the Principles underlying the Defence of Theism*, New York 1883. T. & T. Clark, 1884. [An excellent analysis of the psychological nature of man, which fits him for knowledge of God.]

HICKS, L. E., *A Critique of Design Arguments, a Historical Review of the Methods of Reasoning in Natural Theology*, New York 1883. [A historical sketch of the argument from design, from Socrates to Janet, showing the frequent confusion of two arguments, viz. the eutaxiological, or that from order, and the teleological, or that from design.]

RANDLES, MARSHALL, *First Principles of Faith*, Hodder, 1884. [An excellent brief statement of the entire theistic argument arranged as exemplifying causation.]

(5.) *On Materialism.*

BUECHNER, L., *Kraft und Stoff: Empirisch-naturphilosophische Studien*, 12mo, 1st edit. Frankfort 1855, 15th edit. Leipzig 1874, has been translated into thirteen living languages; the best edition in English appeared under the title, *Force and Matter, or Principles of the Natural Order of the Universe, with a System of Morality based thereon, a popular exposition, newly translated from the fifteenth German edition, enlarged and revised by the Author, with portrait and biography*, Asher, 1884. [Identifies brain and thought.]

JANET, PAUL, *Le Matérialisme Contemporain*, Paris 1864, 18mo, 1875, 12mo, a translation of which was published both in London and New York, in 12mo, 1866. [Criticises the modern physiological materialism which identifies brain and thought, well represented by Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff*.]

LANGE, F. A., *Geschichte der Materialismus und Kritik seiner Bedeutung in der Gegenwart,* 2 vols. 1st edit., Iserlohn 1867, 3rd edit. 1876; translated into French by Pommerol, and into English by E. C. Thomas, the latter forming the first three volumes of Trübner's English and Foreign Philosophical Library. [In spite of its creed,—materialism tempered by ideals indifferently true or false,—useful for the thoroughness of its historical survey.]

WEIS, L., *Anti-Materialismus, Vorträge aus dem Gebiete der Philosophie,* 3 vols. 12mo, Munich 1872. [Contains, with many over-speculative views, much pungent and good criticism.]

(6.) *On Pantheism.*

JOESCHE, C., *Der Pantheismus nach seinen Hauptformen,* 3 vols., Königsberg 1827–32. [Important.]

ROMANG, J. F., *Der Neueste Pantheismus oder die jung-hegelsche Weltanschauung,* Zurich 1848. [Presents the latest phase of German pantheism.]

SAISSET, E., *Essai de Philosophie Religieuse,* 2 vols. 12mo, Paris 1862–65, which have been translated, and published under the title of *Modern Pantheism, an Essay on Religious Philosophy,* in 2 vols. T. & T. Clark, 1863. [In two parts, the first being historical studies on Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza, Newton, Leibnitz, Kant, Hegel, and the second striking meditations on theism.]

DIX, MORGAN, *Lectures on the Pantheistic Idea of an Impersonal Substance Deity, as contrasted with the Christian Faith concerning Almighty God,* 12mo, New York 1864. [A study striking and original.]

HUNT, JOHN, *An Essay on Pantheism,* 1866, Strahan. [Elaborate and learned, bringing together much information, given largely in the words of his authorities, and admirably classified.]

JUNDT, A., *Histoire du Panthéisme Populaire au Moyen Age et au XVI^e Siècle,* Paris 1875. [Most interesting.]

Plumptre, C. E., *A General Sketch of the History of Pantheism*, 2 vols., Deacon, 1881. [A good epitome of Oriental, Greek, and modern pantheism.]

(7.) *On Agnosticism.*

Spencer, Herbert, *First Principles*, 1st edit. 1862, 2nd edit. scarcely changed in the first part, Williams & Norgate, 1867. [The Bible of agnosticism.]

Fiske, John, *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy based on the Doctrine of Evolution, with Criticisms on the Positive Philosophy*, 2 vols. 1874, New York, and Macmillan. [A popularization of the views of Spencer, clearly and beautifully expressed.]

Bowne, Borden P., *The Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, being an Examination of the First Principles of his System*, New York and Cincinnati 1874, 12mo. [A powerful rejoinder.]

Ground, W. D., *An Examination of the Structural Principles of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy, intended as a proof that Theism is the only Theory of the Universe that can satisfy Reason*, Parker, 1883. [Insists with force upon the unbridged gaps in the agnostic theory, from matter to mind, from force to life, from life to self-consciousness, from consciousness to conscience.]

(8.) *On the Natural Doctrine of Spirits.*

(See the *Transactions of the Psychical Society.*)

(9.) *On the Natural Doctrine of the Visible Universe, its Origin, Conservation, and Destiny.*

Chambers, Robert, *The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, 12mo, John Churchill, 6th edit. 1847, and several editions since; and *Explanations: A Sequel to Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation, by the Author of that Work*, 12mo, 1845. [Still worth reading as an evolutional account of the universe, as well as one of the most stirring books of its day.]

HICKOK, LAURENS P., *Rational Cosmology, or the Eternal Principles and Necessary Laws of the Universe,* New York 1871. [An interesting book written from a theistic standpoint.]

DAWSON, J. W., *The Story of the Earth and Man,* 8th edit., with corrections and additions. Hodder & Stoughton, 1883, 12mo. [A popular presentation of the course of the geological history of the earth from a theistic standpoint.]

—— *The Origin of the World according to Revelation and Science,* 3rd edit. Hodder & Stoughton, 1884, 12mo. [Shows the harmony between geology and Genesis.]

STEWART, B., and P. G. TAIT, *The Unseen Universe, or Physical Speculations on a Future State,* Macmillan, 1st edit. 1874, 4th edit. 12mo, 1876. [A scientific argument from the law of continuity in behalf of an invisible universe and of the immortality of man.]

(10.) *On the Natural Doctrine of Man, his Nature, his Origin, and his Destiny.*

TAYLOR, ISAAC, *Physical Theory of Another Life,* 1st edit. Bell & Daldy, 1837, last edit. 1858. [An elaborate argument for spiritual corporeity.]

ULRICI, HERMANN, *Gott und der Mensch,* vol. i., *Leib und Seele,* Leipzig 1866. [" To demonstrate," in the author's own words, " on the basis of firmly established facts, that to the soul in contradistinction from the body, to the spirit in contradistinction from nature, not simply independence but supremacy belongs of right and of fact."]

GRATRY, A., *De la Connaissance de l'Ame,* 2 vols. Paris, 4th edit. 1861, 2 vols. 12mo, 1874. [A brilliant and touching study of the nature of the mind of man in its relations both to God and matter.]

ALGER, WILLIAM R., *The Destiny of the Soul: A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life,* 1st edit. Boston 1860, 10th edit., with ten new chapters, and a complete bibliography of the subject, comprising 4977

books relating to the nature, origin, and destiny of the soul, the titles classified and arranged chronologically with notes and indices of authors and subjects by Ezra Abbott. [A remarkable book, the first, second, and fifth parts of which deal largely with natural theology; the useful bibliography has been published separately.]

LOTZE, HERMANN, *Mikrokosmos, Ideen zur Naturgeschichte und Geschichte der Menschheit, Versuch einer Anthropologie,* 3 vols., English translation from the latest editions, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1885. [The fourth and following books are deserving of the closest study as a natural doctrine of man.]

MIVART, ST. GEORGE, *Lessons from Nature as manifested in Mind and Matter,* 1876. [An investigation, in view of Darwinism, of the nature of man, emphasizing his generic difference from the brutes.]

(11.) *On the Natural Doctrine of Sin, its Nature, its Origin, and its Consequences.*

BUTLER, JOSEPH, *Three Sermons on Human Nature,* many editions. [An unsurpassed statement of the supremacy and religious implication of the moral law.]

KANT, IMMANUEL, *Kritik der Praktischen Vernunft,* Riga 1788, contained in vol. v. of collected works edited by Hartenstein. [A mine of material for the natural doctrine of sin.]

MACKINTOSH, JAMES, *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy chiefly during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,* first published as part of the introductory volume to the eighth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica, then published separately in 1836, 3rd edit., A. & C. Black, 1862. [A useful guide to the various ethical theories, their relation to natural theology not being neglected.]

MÜLLER, JULIUS, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin, translated from the Fifth German Edition by William Urwick,* in 2 vols. T. & T. Clark, 1868. [Contains much upon the natural as well as the Christian doctrine of sin.]

WHEDON, D. D., *The Freedom of the Will as a Basis of Human Responsibility and a Divine Government,* New York 1869, 12mo. [The point contended for is that the doctrine of necessity is incompatible with any valid theory of religion.]

HARLESS, G. C. A. VON, *System of Christian Ethics,* translated from the German of the sixth enlarged edition by Morrison and Findlay. T. & T. Clark, 1868. [The first quarter of this able book deals with the natural doctrine of man in relation to God.]

PART II.

(Continued.)

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DIVISION II.

ETHNIC THEOLOGY.

§ 21.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF ETHNIC THEOLOGY.

FROM the first branch of theology, which deals scientifically with the religious data afforded by what is called nature, we now proceed to ethnic theology, which deals scientifically with the data afforded by the various religions of the world, excluding the Jewish and Christian. It is true that these religions may be viewed under a twofold aspect,—*either* as instances of that universal sense of religion which characterizes humanity everywhere, as is now commonly allowed, in which case they would belong to that section of natural theology which has been usually called the philosophy of religion, and which deals with the universal characteristics of man in his superhuman relations; *or*, on the other hand, the various religions of the world may be studied objectively, as instances of those objective systems in which the various races of mankind have uttered their religious thoughts and expressed their religious emotions. It is in the latter sense that we are now concerned with the religions of the earth. Just as nature gives some knowledge of God and of human relations to Him, so there is a knowledge of God in His human relations to be gained from the ethnic religions. What ethnic theology has to do is, to examine and classify these several heathen religions, and, as a final step, to formulate the general truths to which these religions testify.

Ethnic theology is not the only name which has been given to this science. Some have called it "the science of religions," a name which might include Judaism and Christianity in spite of their distinctiveness. Some have coined the names of the "science of religion" or "comparative religion," to both of which a similar objection may be taken, and an additional objection as well, that

insufficient distinction is made between religion in its objective and subjective senses. Some have even preferred the simple name of "history of religions," which is equally open to the objection that no difference is made between the characteristic principles of heathen and Christian religions, at the same time that the final comparative stage is lost from view altogether. Ethnic theology, then, is the science of the heathen religions as such, and its problem is to investigate these several religions by collecting the facts they severally present, by collating these facts, and by ultimately drawing the inferences upon religion these classified facts warrant.

§ 22.

UTILITY OF THE STUDY OF ETHNIC THEOLOGY.

THAT such a study as has just been sketched is both interesting and instructive will soon appear. *For*, FIRST, *ethnic theology brings its own reward to the student because of its intrinsic interest.* "The proper study of mankind is man," said Pope; and, may we not add, the proper study of religious mankind is man religious? To catch any glimpse of the upturned face of the rudest savage, to hear the cries of men to the mighty powers which are unseen but not unfelt, to recognise that prayer is as universal as hunger, to watch the ritual exalted or obscene by which men trust to approach their deities, to trace the doctrines of faiths severely moral or grossly degraded, to re-feel or re-think what millions of our race have thought or felt in the presence of the mystery of being, are not these returns enough for any labour bestowed? As Max Müller has well said: "In the study of mankind there can hardly be a subject more deeply interesting than the study of the different forms of religion; and much as I value the science of language for the aid which it lends us in unravelling some of the most complicated tissues of the human intellect, I confess that to my mind there is no study more absorbing than that of the religions of the world,—the study, if I may so call it, of the various languages in which man has spoken to his Maker, and of that language in which his Maker 'at sundry times and divers manners' spake to man." "To my mind," Max Müller continues, "the great epochs in the world's history are marked, not by the foundation or the destruction of empires, by the migrations of races, or by French revolutions; all this is outward history, made up of events that seem gigantic and overpowering to those only who cannot see beyond or beneath. The real history of man is the

history of religion: the wonderful ways by which the different families of the human race advanced towards a truer knowledge and a deeper love of God. This is the foundation that underlies all profane history; it is the light, the soul, and life of history, and without it all history would indeed be profane."[1]

SECONDLY, *such a study is peculiarly fitted to enlarge the sympathies, and counteract that narrowness which is only too apt to invade the religious life.* It is with a feeling of intense surprise that one reads for the first time some of the more sublime hymns of the Vedas, or some of the more lofty moral injunctions of Buddha. The same great problems of existence are seen to agitate all the higher religious leaders of mankind. There is a light, it is seen, that lighteth every man in the better hours of his being. Then the initial surprise passes into rejoicing, for has not the unity of man received renewed illustration? Has not the sense of brotherhood become quick? Have not forebodings of some wider and more inclusive divine plan than we had dreamed crossed our minds? Perhaps a vision has dawned, not only of the common need newly attested, and the universal seeking after God unexpectedly witnessed afresh, but also of the nations walking amidst the light of the New Jerusalem. We do not honour Shakespeare by depreciating Cowper and Keats; and what is true in literature is still more true in religion. A belief in the inspiration of Moses does not make it necessary to disbelieve the inspiration of Balaam; and turning to One higher far than Moses, the transcendent influence of Jesus is not diminished one iota by the acknowledgment of the beneficent influence of Zoroaster or Confucius. Verily God's ways are not man's ways. "In the generations gone by (He) suffered all the nations to walk in their own ways: and yet He left not Himself without witness."

THIRDLY, *the study of ethnic theology will be of peculiar value to the Christian missionary.* With all the advantages at the disposal of the missionary, of long residence, and of daily familiar intercourse, the investigation of the heathen systems amidst which he lives may form the delight of his

[1] *Chips from a German Workshop*, 1867, vol. i., Lecture i. pp. 20, 21.

leisure moments, the hobby which may benefit others whilst relieving himself by a learned recreation. But, more important still, the knowledge to be gained by acquainting oneself with the leading details of the heathen faiths will supply those invaluable points of contact which give the Christian advocate vantage ground. As Paul utilized his knowledge of Hellenism for his great Master's cause, so the Christian missionary may employ his knowledge of the heathen systems to lead up his hearers to Christianity. There are great needs poorly met in every ethnic faith, and the recognition of these may afford the starting-point for many a Christian discourse. Often there are cherished traditions common to Christianity and the heathen religions the history of which can be traced, and these may be turned to account in aggressive work. There are legends and injunctions which contravene the moral sense, firmly to lay the finger upon which will be of value. A knowledge of any heathen system, or, better still, of several heathen systems, will aid the labours of the missionary by both accentuating Christianity, and accentuating points of heathen teaching which may be used as auxiliaries to Christian truths.

For, FOURTHLY, *Christianity itself will receive a stronger emphasis upon comparison with the ethnic systems.* "I make no secret," writes Max Müller, in his *Lectures on the Science of Religion*, "that true Christianity, I mean the religion of Christ, seems to me to become more and more exalted the more we know and the more we appreciate the treasures of truth hidden in the despised religions of the world."[1] Indeed, more significantly still, remembering the tone of some of his earlier essays, Max Müller commenced his preface to the *Sacred Books of the East* by saying,—and the words are deserving of emphasis:—"Readers who have been led to believe that the Vedas of the ancient Brahmans, the Avesta of the Zoroastrians, the Tripitaka of the Buddhists, the Kings of Confucius, or the Koran of Mohammed are books full of primeval wisdom and religious enthusiasm, or at least of sound and simple moral teaching, will be disappointed in consulting these volumes (of sacred books). Looking at many of the books that have lately been published on the religions

[1] *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, 12mo, 1873, p. 37.

of the ancient world, I do not wonder that such a belief should have been raised; but I have long felt that it was high time to dispel such illusions, and to place the study of the ancient religions of the world on a more real and sound, on a more truly historical basis. It is but natural that those who write on ancient religions, and who have studied them from translations only, not from original documents, should have had eyes for their bright rather than for their dark sides. The former absorb all the attention of the student, the latter, as they teach nothing, seem hardly to deserve any notice. Scholars also who have devoted their life either to the editing of original texts or to the careful interpretation of some of the sacred books, are more inclined, after they have disinterred from a heap of rubbish some solitary fragments of pure gold, to exhibit these treasures only, than to display all the rubbish from which they had to extract them. . . . They have raised expectations that cannot be fulfilled, fears also that, as will be easily seen, are unfounded."[1] The caution was not unnecessary. There has undoubtedly been a tendency to speak the truth, but not the whole truth, about the ethnic religions. Thus, on the one hand, antagonism has been roused against ethnic theology itself, and, on the other hand, ethnic theology has been put in a false light. However, if a little knowledge of ethnic theology threw Christianity in the shade, a little more knowledge will intensify the chiaroscuro, all the ethnic religions combining to form a dark background for the brilliant light of Christian truth. By the results of ethnic theology the way will be prepared for the distinctive Christian doctrines, whilst the natural doctrines of God, the world, man, and sin will be singularly enriched.

Then, LASTLY, *the defence of Christianity demands a close study of ethnic theology.* As has been hinted, ethnic theology has been eagerly pursued by some just because of their bias against Christianity. The dispassionate study of the scientific man has given place in some quarters to the prejudiced investigation of the avowed secularist. The comparative study of religion has been made a means for degrading Christianity by exalting the other religions of mankind. Emile Burnouf

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. i. 1879, pp. ix., x.

writes a series of articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*[1] to magnify the heathen religions at the expense of the Christian faith. Eugène Véron[2] attempts a natural history of religions in the interests of materialism. Even in England there have been many express statements of the equipollency of all religions, and the old formula of "Zeus, Jove, Ahuramazda or Jehovah" has become, in some hands, "Christianity, Hinduism, Islamism, or Fetichism." In the interests of truth, the Christian believer cannot allow these fields to be untilled, or tilled only by enemies. Let the Christian thinker examine these ancient faiths without bias and with his quickened spiritual faculties, and he will find many a weapon which may be legitimately used in the great Christian war.

[1] Emile Burnouf, *La Science des Religions*, 12mo, 3rd edit., Paris 1876.

[2] Eugène Véron, *Histoire Naturelle des Religions*, 2 vols. 12mo, Paris 1885, forming vols. v. and vi. of the *Bibliothèque Matérialiste*.

§ 23.

DIVISION OF ETHNIC THEOLOGY.

HAVING discussed, then, the utility of the study of ethnic theology, as we have named the data and principles of the heathen religions scientifically investigated, the next question is, as to what is the most appropriate classification of the several sections of the science.

The two leading divisions of ethnic theology appear from the above definition. Like natural theology, ethnic theology is divided, first, into the data, and second, into the inductions of the science.

But in the classification of the data themselves much difficulty manifests itself, largely because of unsolved problems connected with these data. The data are of course the several religions of heathendom, and the task of the classification of these data is the task of the affiliation of these religions; but here difficulty intrudes, because, notwithstanding the clear views which have been gained into the historical course of the greater religions of the world, there are still many religions whose origin and development are wholly or very largely unknown. However, it is better to recognise the limitations of any study than to advocate any principle of arrangement prematurely. Premature classifications have been too frequently made. Accepting the principle of a natural evolution, for example, contrary to some of the facts presented by the religions with which he deals, Tiele[1] has propounded the following classification: first, animistic religions, or those which are based on a belief in spirits; second, religion among the Chinese; third, religion among the Egyptians and Shemites; fourth, the Indo-Germanic

[1] *Outlines of the History of Religions, to the Spread of the Universal Religions*, 2nd edit. 1880, pp. 4, 5.

religions, where there was little contact with the Shemites; and lastly, Indo-Germanic religions influenced by the Shemitic faiths. This is altogether a hasty generalization, and unwarranted by the present state of our knowledge. The same is true of the more elaborate division of Réville.[1] Réville classifies religions as either polytheistic or monotheistic. The polytheistic faiths he divides into five classes, viz. (1) the primitive religion of nature; (2) the animistic and fetichistic religions; (3) the great national mythologies, as of China, Egypt, India, Italy, etc.; (4) the religions which are legalist as well as polytheistic, viz. Brahmanism, Parsism, Confucianism, and Taoism; (5) Buddhism, a religion at once universal and redemptive. The monotheistic faiths he divides into three classes, viz. (1) Judaism, legalist and national; (2) Islamism, legalist and international; (3) Christianity, redemptive and international. Here again it is assumed, under the exigency of a natural evolution, that the various religions, contrary to some of the facts of the case, are ultimately derived from a worship of nature and of the ghosts of ancestors. Instead of such premature generalization, it should be frankly recognised that our knowledge is not yet ripe enough for a complete affiliation of the various religions which men have professed, and it should be also recognised that the classification adopted ought to be true as far as it goes, whilst showing with clearness the problems still to be solved.

After all, the problem of the classification of religions must be governed by the general course of history, for the history of religions is only a part of the history of man. "The only classification which can be approved is that which respects the genesis, the evolution, the transformation of the different religions, that is to say, which is traced upon the historical evolution itself, and follows the variations of doctrine and worship in its relation to the totality of the social transformations: in other words, the political and ethnographical classification."[2] Happily the general develop-

[1] *Prolégomènes de l'Histoire des Religions*, 3rd edit., Paris 1881, pp. 126–143.

[2] Maurice Vernes, in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*, vol. xi. p. 201.

ment of humanity is becoming better known every day, and by the aid of the comparative science of language and other means, the main outline of the genesis and history of the leading people of the globe can be traced. Many a fissure has to be bridged, many a fault compensated for, and many a remote stratum to be surveyed, as a geologist would say; nevertheless, the general effect of future investigations can only be to complete the general outline it is possible to sketch at present, not to render entire reconstruction compulsory.

Taking our stand, then, upon the present state of our knowledge of the religions of heathendom, the first great division of these religions is into the religions which have been classified and those which are as yet unclassed. Let us deal with the former first, bearing in mind the golden rule of classification that we observe everywhere the actual development of history. This rule, in fact, is but our old rule of process from the simpler to the more complex under another guise.

At the most remote period of which we have extra-Biblical historical knowledge,—we are not here concerned with Scriptural statements,—we find four great contemporaneous races, the Chinese, the Egyptians, the Indo-Germans, and the Shemites. Each of these races has had a religious history which can be followed with tolerable accuracy.

The Egyptian religion remained the Egyptian religion from the earliest times, till it was supplanted, first by Persia, then by Greece, next by Christianity, and subsequently by Mahometanism.

The Chinese religion has also had its own characteristic development. The ancient religion of China gave birth, about six centuries before the Christian era, to two sages, Confucius and Lao-tse, from the former of whom has sprung the imperial religion of China, Confucianism, and from the latter of whom has come another state religion of China, commonly called Taoism. Further, some centuries before the Christian era, missionaries from India penetrated into China, desiring to spread the faith of Buddha, and from these missionaries arose the third state religion of China, or Chinese Buddhism. In China to-day all three religions coexist, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.

Following next along the stream of the Indo-Germanic faiths, we also find the early religion of the great Aryan race pursuing a characteristic development in each people into which this race divided. The primitive Aryans were a migratory race, and they divided into various branches. Some settled in India, where their religion pursued its own specific course; some settled in Persia, where their religion also took a peculiar form; some became the founders of the Letto-Slavs, some founders of the Teutonic races, some of the Celtic tribes, and some of the Pelasgi, from which sprang the Greeks and the Romans; in each of these cases as well the ancient Aryan faith assumed characteristic forms, whether from internal development or foreign admixture. Thus arose the several Indo-Germanic religions,—the religion of Greece, the religion of Rome, the ancient German faith, the faith of the Letto-Slavs, the faith of Persia, which from the predominant influence of Zoroaster has been called Zoroastrianism, and the religions of India. The course of religious development in India is well understood. The ancient Aryan faith gave rise first to the religion of the Rig-Veda; then to that development of the Vedic faith, which is called Brahmanism; then, by way of reaction, to Buddha and Buddhism; and yet again, by a resuscitation and development of Brahmanism, to Hinduism, as the latest phase of this Aryan faith is called. Another Indian religion not so perfectly understood is called Jainism.

One other primary division remains to be characterized. The ancient Shemitic faith divided into two branches, the Northern and the Southern. Of these the Southern has followed its own separate course, giving rise first to the ancient Arab faith, next to Mahomet and Islam, and since Mahomet's death to the various developments of the faith of the Koran. The Northern branch split into several well-marked phases, each of which was destined to vanish early before the onward march of Judaism and Christianity. These phases were the Phœnician, the Aramæan, and the several Canaanitish religions.

Such have been the leading features of the development of the four streams of the ethnic faiths traceable in history, each having followed a tolerably characteristic course of its own.

Twice, however, a fusion has taken place between representatives of two original races, as where the Phœnician faith coalesced with the old Pelasgic faith to form the religions of Greece and Rome, and when the Buddhist missionaries of the Aryan race crossed into China, Japan, Burmah, and Thibet.

So much for the data of ethnic theology which have been already classified. Outside of these data, however, there lie vast fields of the unknown, or of the inadequately known, the accurate classification of which is as yet impossible. These unclassified faiths are those which have left behind them no sacred books, and which mostly consist of the religions of savage races, such as the aborigines of Australia, Polynesia, Africa, and America. Concerning the nature of these various religions as at present observed, much remains to be learnt by accurate and unbiassed investigation, and concerning the genesis of these religions almost all has to be discovered. To call all these native faiths animistic, as some have done, and so end the matter, is at least premature. The close study of language and extant remains, the investigation of all kinds of relics of the past, must determine more about the genesis and developmeut of these faiths, before they can possibly be classified satisfactorily. Whether, for example, they belong to either of the great streams of religion already classified, or whether they form one or many streams of a unique kind, future inquiry can alone decide. The comparative method has many a discovery yet to make as brilliant as that which demonstrated Celts and Teutons to be the blood-relations of the dwellers in the Punjab. Not only so; inquiry has yet to decide, by careful comparison of all extant data, whether, as already seems probable on purely comparative grounds alone, the primitive streams of religion which ran side by side in the earliest historic times are not themselves branches from some primitive source.

The inductions of ethnic theology have scarcely been seriously attacked as yet. Nevertheless, the principal classes of those inductions it is possible to state. The religions of the world, like nature, have some knowledge to impart, not concerning Christ, or the new life in Christ, or the future of the Christian Church in this world or the next, all of which

religious knowledge belongs to Christianity and Judaism, but knowledge concerning God, and a spiritual hierarchy, and the universe, and man, and sin. Under these several headings, therefore, the inductions of ethnic theology may be classified. Further, not the least important induction to be drawn from the study of the ethnic religions is religion itself,—the religious sense, its nature and its contents,—and also that curious phase of religion to the study of which the name of mythology has been given.

The entire division of ethnic theology would thus be as follows :—

I. The data of ethnic theology, or the several religions of the world, outside of Judaism and Christianity.

1. The religions of China, the pre-Confucian religion, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism.
2. The religion of Egypt.
3. The Shemitic religions :—
   - (1) Northern—the Babylonian and Assyrian, the Canaanitish, Aramæan, and Phœnician religions.
   - (2) Southern—The ancient Arab faith, Islam.
4. The Indo-Germanic religions :—
   - (1) Of India—the ancient Aryan faith, Vedism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Jainism.
   - (2) Of Persia—the ancient Persian faith, Zoroastrianism.
   - (3) Of the ancient Letto-Slavs.
   - (4) Of the ancient Germans.
   - (5) Of the ancient Greeks.
   - (6) Of the ancient Romans.
   - (7) Of the Celts.
5. The religions not yet genetically classified :—
   - (1) The religions of Australia and the Pacific—of the Australians, Tasmanians, Papuans, Melanesians, Micronesians, Polynesians.
   - (2) The religions of the native races of America—of the Esquimaux, the Aleutians, the North American Indians, the South American Indians, the Toltecs, the Aztecs, the Patagonians, the Terra-del-Fuegians.
   - (3) The religions of the native races of Africa—the Negroes, the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Kaffirs, the Malagasy.

II. The inductions of ethnic theology, or the truths inferrible from the several ethnic religions, concerning—

1. God.
2. Spirits.
3. The World.
4. Man.
5. Sin.

§ 24.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF ETHNIC THEOLOGY.

ADVANCING to the history of the study of this branch of theology, there is little to be said of its study as a whole. There is no narrative possible of epochs and crises, tendencies and enthusiastic developments. Ethnic theology is a modern science. As has already been remarked, the inductions of the science have scarcely been attacked as yet, nor could they be, seeing that the indispensable preliminary task of the collection and classification of the data upon which the inductions must be based has scarcely been prosecuted with such completeness as to warrant advance to theorizing. This nineteenth century had run half its course before it was possible to procure any adequate information concerning the religions of India, China, and Persia, to say nothing of the lesser faiths. Hardly any part of the Vedas, the sacred books of the Brahmans, had been translated into a European language. Very insufficient knowledge of the Zend-Avesta, the sacred books of the Parsis, was procurable from the writings of Anquetil du Perron and Kleuker. About Buddhism, the religion of 350,000,000 of the human race, scarcely anything was known. The writings of the sages of China were still almost sealed books to Europeans. In the last thirty years, however, much has been done towards unveiling the mysteries of most of the religions of the world, and innumerable data of many kinds have been collected and examined, very frequently by ardent Christian missionaries. Much indispensable preparatory work has thus been done, which has already influenced considerably present-day views of Christian truth, neutralizing insularity and enlarging the recognised area of divine action. If twenty years ago Max Müller felt it necessary to express his doubts "whether the time has yet come for attempting to trace, after the model of the science of language, the definite

outlines of the science of religion,"[1] the case stands differently to-day. Large materials have been accumulated for the study of the leading religions of the world; the genesis and development of these religions is becoming increasingly clearer; many of the sacred books of the several faiths have been translated; some sort of classification of faiths has been rendered possible; and we are, as various present-day volumes testify, on the threshold of a balanced view of the ethnic faiths, which shall both analyze their origin and describe their combined results.

From what has been said, it is evident that the history of the study of ethnic theology resolves itself into a history of the advancing knowledge of each separate religion. What it is necessary to say concerning the progress made in the examination of the individual religions will come more appropriately under the outline of those religions, to be given in the next section. But it would be ungracious to pass on without some few words of acknowledgment to the distinguished man, who has had the greatest influence in acclimatizing ethnic studies in England. By his prolonged investigation of the religions of India, M. Max Müller has rendered very eminent service to all students of theology; he has rendered even greater service by making questions of ethnic theology part and parcel of the thought of all cultured men in this land. To many the reading of the first volume of his *Chips from a German Workshop* has proved an epoch in theological study, causing old truths first to become displaced, and then to reassume beauty and regularity in the kaleidoscope of the mind. The manifest earnestness of the writer of these " Chips," his scholarship, his skill in the clear and interesting presentation of recondite studies, his balance of mind, his evident esteem for the exceptional in Christianity, his charity, characteristics like these have attracted readers, have given some rest even whilst producing some mental disturbance, and have set many investigating ethnic studies with enthusiasm. Would that all who aspire to be *vulgarisateurs*, as the French say, of this science had Max Müller's balance and absence of exaggeration!

[1] *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i. London 1867.

§ 25.

OUTLINE OF ETHNIC THEOLOGY.

TURNING to the outline of the science, it follows from what has been already said, that such an outline of ethnic theology as would harmonize with the plan of this book would first deal, with all possible brevity, with the outline of the several ethnic religions as at present known, and, next, present a summary of the contributions made by these several religions to the wider and complete science. We treat, therefore, in outline, first, of the *data* of the science, and then of the *inductions*.

We begin with THE RELIGIONS OF CHINA. The religions of China are, we now know, three in number—the doctrine of Confucius, the doctrine of Lao Tse, and the doctrine of Buddha. All three religions, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, exist side by side in China, and are officially recognised, although possibly a better definition of the religious belief of a Chinaman would be, that, to whichever of these three doctrines he inclined, his fundamental belief was in a worship of ancestors which had best expressed itself in the precepts of Confucius. Confucianism is tolerably well known nowadays. It consists of the maxims and precepts which are contained in the works of Confucius, and of his disciples and commentators. It is contained in the canonical books called *King*. The great *King*, or canonical books of the first class, are five in number: —The *Yi King*, or Book of Changes; the *Shu King*, or Book of History; the *Shih King*, or Book of Odes; the *Li Ki*, or Record of Rites; and finally, the *Khun Khiu*, or Annals of the Principality of Lu. The small *King*, or canonical books of the second class, comprise the four books of the *Great Learning*, of the *Invariable Mean*, of the *Discourses and Conversations*, and of *Mencius*, the *Two Books of Ritual*, the *Book of Filial Piety*, the *Three Ancient Commentators* of the Annals

of the Principality of Lu, and the Dictionary Eul Ya. These books have been examined, studied, translated, and commented upon in a manner to give us a tolerable idea of their contents, especially by Professor James Legge in his monumental work on the "Chinese Classics," and in his translations embodied in the third and sixteenth volumes of *The Sacred Books of the East*. Amongst the predecessors of the Professor of Chinese at Oxford in the same field may be mentioned with honour, Doctors Medhurst, Morrison, and Marshman, who were all eminent missionaries, and various other writers in French and German, as well as English. Confucius was not an inventor of the system called by his name, but, as he himself claimed, a transmitter from the ancients. Of all these books, it is necessary to bear in mind that, as Dr. Legge has said, they "do not profess to have been inspired, or to contain what we should call a revelation: historians, poets, and others wrote them as they were moved in their own minds; . . . but while the old Chinese books do not profess to contain any divine revelation, the references in them to religious views and practices are numerous; and it is from these that the student has to fashion for himself an outline of the early religion of the people."[1]

Very different to Confucius and the religion to which his name has been given, is that of Lao Tse and Taoism. Confucius was the practical man, Lao Tse the speculative. Resembling Confucius in his high moral tone, Lao Tse indulged in many an unverifiable speculation upon the universe and the soul, and his followers are characterized by many a coarse superstition and gross idolatry. The doctrine of Lao Tse—"translated by some," says Dr. Legge, "'The Old Philosopher,' and by others 'The Old Boy,' from a fabulous story that his mother carried him in the womb for seventy-two years, so that when he was at length cut out of it, his hair was already white"—is contained in the *Tao Te King*, which was translated into French by Stanislas Julien in 1842, into English by Dr. Chalmers, of Canton, in 1868, and into German by Reinhold von Plänckner, and also by Victor von Strauss, both in 1870.

[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. iii. p. xv.

Of Buddhism, it is only necessary to say that Buddhist missionaries penetrated into China three centuries before our era. For a time this new faith made little way, but from the date of its official recognition by the Emperor Ming Fi ti, in the year 61 of our era, as the third religion of the Empire, Buddhism has grafted itself upon Taoism, which, to adopt a happy expression of Dr. Eitel's, is "Buddhism in indigenous costume." The principal books for the study of the religions of China will be given in the next section. The influence of Nestorian Christianity upon Buddhism, at as early a date as the sixth century of our era, is a fruitful theme, scarcely prosecuted as yet as it deserves.

Advancing to the RELIGION OF EGYPT, the story of the recovery of the lost key to the stone records of Memphis and Thebes and Karnac reads like a page of romance. For many years all that was known of the early history of the land of the Pharaohs was due to the scattered notices of Herodotus, Plato, and other Greek and Latin writers, whose testimonies had on their face an aspect of mal-observation and exaggeration. There was certainly a high probability that the hieroglyphics which covered the walls of temples and tombs might disclose many a page of the past, if only they could be interpreted; but alas! these representations of the sun and the moon, of animals and plants, of pictures of things real and symbols of things imaginary, who could hope to learn their secret? For a long time hieroglyphic was synonymous with unknowable. Then came the discovery of the famous Rosetta stone, a black tablet, with inscriptions in three languages, one of which was Greek, and therefore intelligible, erected in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 193 years before Christ. The Greek text expressly stated that the decree it preserved was engraved "in the sacred characters, in the vernacular, and in Greek." Here then in parallel lines were the intelligible Greek inscription, and the same inscription in two Egyptian tongues, the one hieroglyphic and the other popular. Mutilated as the tablet was, and it was very mutilated, fifteen lines of the vernacular having lost their first letters, a great part of the hieroglyphic section being lost entirely, and the end of the Greek having also been destroyed,

it formed the subject of the close study of several accomplished men, and it is the lasting honour of Champollion to have discovered the true key to the complete decipherment. By concentrating his attention upon the proper names of the Rosetta stone,—and the stone presented the Greek names of Ptolemy, Cleopatra, Berenice, Pyrrha, Diogenes, Alexander, and others,—Champollion was able to build up gradually an Egyptian alphabet, which enabled him to unseal the closed treasures of temple and monument, and to lay the foundations of a grammar and dictionary. Thus a new world was opened to the student, and the old wisdom of Egypt, in which Moses was learned, was disclosed in some sort to the modern investigator of the long-buried past. A small band of devoted workers took up the work; Lepsius, and Birch, and Hincks, and De Rougé, and Brugsch, Mariette and Chabas and Goodwin, Dümichen, and Lauth, and Ebers, and Stern, and Eisenlohr, Maspero, and Renouf, and Naville, Wilkinson and Canon Cook and Professor Lushington. It was soon discovered that many of the remains contained religious matters, and by the careful translation and comparison of the inscriptions of obelisk and pillars, of wall and pyramid, the outlines of the old Egyptian faith are at length tolerably well understood. The statement of Herodotus is now known to be no exaggeration, for everything emphasizes his words, "The Egyptians are beyond measure scrupulous in matters of religion." So too the words of Herodotus as to transmigration are found to be correct, when he said that "the Egyptians were also the first to say that the soul of man is immortal, and that when the body perishes it transmigrates through every variety of animal." "The Egyptians," says Wilkinson, "were unquestionably the most pious nation of all antiquity. The oldest monuments show their belief in a future life. And Osiris, the judge, is mentioned in tombs erected two thousand years before Christ." "Everything among the Egyptians," says M. Maury, "took the stamp of religion. Their writing was so full of sacred symbols that it could scarcely be used for any purely secular purpose. Literature and science were only branches of theology. Art laboured only in the service of worship, and to glorify the gods. Religious observances were

so numerous and so imperative, that the most common labours of daily life could not be performed without a perpetual reference to some priestly regulation. The Egyptian only lived to worship. The sun, when it set, seemed to him to die; and when it rose the next morning, it was a perpetual symbol of a future resurrection. Religion in Egypt became an instinct. Unaltered by the dominion of the Persians, the Ptolemies and Romans, it was of all polytheisms the most obstinate in its resistance to Christianity, and retained its devotees down to the sixth century of our era." [1] The Egyptians had temples, priests, and sacred books. Esoterically their religion was pantheistic, and exoterically polytheistic. There were unmistakeable traces of an earlier monotheism, and of the common religious traditions of the race. Its most remarkable feature was the worship of animals, consequent on the doctrines of transmigration. "It so completely incarnates God," says Freeman Clarke justly, "as to make every type of animal existence divine; hence the worship of animals. It makes body so sacred, that the human body must not be allowed to perish." In this religion, too, a lofty morality was advocated. All that it is necessary to add is a guide to the literature upon this subject, and this will follow in its appropriate place in the next section.

Upon the northern SHEMITIC RELIGIONS little need be said in addition to giving a list of books for the study of the faiths of Babylonia, Assyria, and their allied faiths. They all show traces of a common origin in Mesopotamia, whilst they all pursue their characteristic development. Babylonia and Assyria differed but little in language and religion, and since the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions unearthed by Rich and Botta, Layard and George Smith and Theodore Pinches, the leading features of these religions are becoming better known every day. In all these faiths, again, there are traces of a primitive monotheism, and of a common series of traditions upon the origin of the world and the early history of man. In the religions of Arabia, however, we encounter a very characteristic religious development. Until the sixth

[1] Quoted from an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 1867, by Freeman Clarke in his *Ten Great Religions*, pp. 213, 214.

century of our era, the Arabs acknowledged the common faith of their fathers, which had degenerated into a worship of spirits and fetishes, only to be designated polytheistic. Then came the life and labours of that extraordinary personality, Mahomet, and especially the penning of his self-styled revelations, professedly imparted verbatim by the angel Gabriel, which are embodied in the Koran. Minutely studied, it is true, this Koran is seen to be a reassertion of some of the truths and traditions of Judaism, and especially of monotheism. The principal doctrines of Mahometanism are these: (1) the acceptance of the two great dogmas that there is one God, and that Mahomet is His prophet; (2) prayer; (3) almsgiving; (4) fasting; (5) the pilgrimage to Mecca, which every free adult is bound to undertake once in his life. Islam now numbers about 155,000,000 adherents.

Next come the Religions of India, again singularly instructive from their development. At a very early date the Indo-Germans, the common ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Teutons, the Greeks, the Celts, and the Slavs, and whose home was originally somewhere in Central Asia, took to colonizing. Leaving their primeval seat in batches, they settled some in Asia and some in Europe. The ancestors of the Indians and the Persians were apparently the last to leave, forming one people who called themselves Aryans. They had one language and one religion, if the evidence afforded by comparative philology and comparative religion is to be trusted. At length even this final Aryan race divided, part settling in Persia, and pursuing an independent development, and part selecting for their place of abode what is to-day called the Punjab, also entering in this way upon an independent course of development. The earliest historical record of this Indian family is found in the oldest of those sacred books which are called the Vedas. These Vedas, the Bible of India, were written during the lapse of many years; but it is interesting to observe that their moral purity and religious elevation rise with their age. A clear conception of the moral government of the universe and a sort of monotheism appear in the Rig-Veda, the oldest of these sacred books, whilst not a trace of the later doctrines of caste

and of transmigration are to be found therein. Degeneration, however, soon manifested itself, and the later parts of the Veda are ruled by the idea of caste. The later parts of the Veda, the Brahmanas and the Upanishads, offer indeed little but a religion for the Brahmans, a pantheistic philosophy with much ritual for the few who are twice-born. Then came Buddhism. The founder of this more catholic creed, *the* Buddha or Enlightened One, was Siddharta, of the tribe of Sakya, who lived in the second half of the fifth century B.C. He is also known as Gautama Buddha and Sakya-Muni. Innumerable are the legends which have gathered around this remarkable man; but it is tolerably evident that this Indian reformer, whilst advocating some curious philosophy and rejecting the idea of caste and the ecclesiastical pretensions of the Brahmans, chose deliberately the life of a recluse, a celibate, and a mendicant, and preached a religion for all men, irrespective of their birth. Whoever followed him in his life of self-denial might be liberated, whether soldier or priest or farmer or servant, from sickness, from pain, from old age, and even from death and its transmigrations, attaining to Nirvana, or freedom from the law of ceaseless rebirth according to character. "Buddhism, in fact," as has been well said, "rejected the authority of the Veda, the whole dogmatic system of the Brahmans, their worship, penance, and hierarchy, and simply substituted for them a higher moral teaching." This religious movement, with its doctrine of equality, its charity, its toleration, had a large influence in India for a time. In the course of a couple of centuries Buddhism won a great following in India, and even despatched many missionaries to other lands. But Brahmanism did not succumb without a struggle, and in the end, having adopted the policy of so modifying its system as to appeal to the people at large, Brahmanism succeeded in expelling its rival from India. This expulsion was doubtless accelerated by the disclosure of certain disabilities in Buddhism itself, which, possessing no doctrine of God, could hardly be a religion for the masses, and which, proclaiming salvation for all, really divided men into two great classes, the ascetics and the laity, actually promising salvation only to the ascetic. The outcome of the

conflict between the adherents of the rival faiths was the present form of Hinduism, which has two very different sides. To the masses Hinduism presents a polytheism of a very varied kind, Buddha himself being regarded as one of the incarnations of Vishnu, one of the Hindu Triad; to the select few, Hinduism presents a recondite doctrine of a pantheistic kind. In short, exoterically Hinduism is a vulgar polytheism, with many rites; esoterically it is a philosophic pantheism, with many schools. Jainism has many points of resemblance with Buddhism. It should be added that, although extruded from India, Buddhism has followed two characteristic lines of development known as northern and southern, the former that of Nepal, Thibet, China, Japan, Mongolia, and the latter that of Burmah, Siam, and Ceylon. Southern Buddhism, with the exception of certain legends concerning Buddha, remains very much to-day in teaching and ritual what it was in the days immediately succeeding Gautama's death. Northern Buddhism has, in Thibet, developed an elaborate hierarchical system which bears to the teaching of the Buddha much the same relation which Roman Catholicism has to the teaching of the apostles. Northern Buddhism has its pope, its gorgeous ritual, its priests of many grades, and its doctrine of tradition. Hinduism now numbers about 160,000,000 of adherents, and Buddhism 450,000,000, of whom 30,000,000 are southern Buddhists, and 420,000,000 are northern Buddhists, this latter number including the vast population of China, who, though followers of Confucius and Lao Tse, are still Buddhists.

The Parsi faith, as the ancient RELIGION OF PERSIA is often called, is a decaying faith, and now numbers less than a sixth of a million adherents. Nevertheless, Parsism, the religion of the Magi, has features of very peculiar interest. Like Mahometanism and Buddhism, Parsism also owes its origin to the transcendent religious influence of one man, Zerdusht, Zarathustra, or Zoroaster. Parsism has also its sacred books, the Zend-Avesta, which claim to have originated in the divine inspiration of the great Persian sage. Both Herodotus and Plutarch called attention to this Magian faith and this Magian sage, remarking with some surprise that this singular religion owned no altars, nor temples, nor images, but presented its

adoration to the sun and to fire. Zoroastrianism was one of the earliest of the ancient ethnic religions to receive the attention of European scholars. This branch of scholastic research also has its romance. Anquetil du Perron, born at Paris in 1731, very early manifested a taste for Oriental study, making himself proficient in Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian. As he tells us himself in his preliminary discourse to his edition of the Zend-Avesta, having come across a fragment of those ancient books of Zoroaster in the Royal Library at Paris, he was seized with a desire to visit India, "and to learn the Zend language in which they were written, and also the Sanskrit, so as to be able to read the manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, which no one in Paris understood." He enlisted as a common soldier with this end; but the French Government, struck with his zeal, gave him his discharge, a small salary of 500 livres, and a free passage. He was but twenty-four years old when he set sail. Thus, while Clive was fighting the battles of the East India Company, and Schwartz was doing hard battle as a missionary amongst the Hindus, Du Perron set himself to learn the ancient languages upon which he had set his heart, being taught by Brahman and Parsi priests. On his return to Europe he published in 1771 his French translation of the Avesta. The beginning which Du Perron thus made has been elaborated by many other great and diligent workers, and now, after the united labours of men like Burnouf, Lassen, Spiegel, Westergaard, Haug, Bunsen, Max Müller, and Roth, the contents of these ancient books are fairly known. Part of these books, the so-called Vendidad, bears marks of a very high antiquity indeed. The prominent feature of these books is what is commonly described as their dualism. They represent good and evil as eternal. The great problem of evil colours everything. There are also in these books very interesting traditions concerning the creation, the fall, the flood, and the other common knowledge of the races of man prior to the dispersion.

Of the remaining Indo-Germanic religions, those of the Slavs, the Teutons, the Celts, the Greeks, and the Romans, nothing need be said beyond calling attention to the books

in which these religions are best described. In every case these several branches of the primitive Aryan faith have died out under the advance of Christianity, and the religions themselves have but a historical interest.

Of the religions, numerous and instructive although they are, which have not yet been classified,—mostly savage creeds, but including some older faiths which have not yet been adequately studied, such as the Shintoism of Japan and the ancient Akkadian faith of Mesopotamia,—it is also needless to say more than is necessary to call attention to the several good books which treat of them individually. In naming and characterizing these books, as will be done in the next section, the history of their present study is really sufficiently given.

So much then as regards the data of ethnic theology. Of the inductions of ethnic theology little, alas! can be added. This very fertile and suggestive field has yet to be really tilled. One praiseworthy attempt has recently been made to present the inductions upon the idea of God, the idea of the soul, the origin of the world, prayer, inspiration, and art in all religions, by Freeman Clarke, in the second part of his *Ten Great Religions;* but able as this work is, it is both pioneer and popular. Valuable monographs upon special points have also been accumulating of late, but careful and exhaustive statements upon ethnic teaching concerning God, spirits, the universe, man, and sin have yet to be written.

§ 26.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE STUDY OF ETHNIC THEOLOGY.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

MAURICE, F. D., *The Religions of the World, and their Relations to Christianity*, Boyle Lectures for 1845–46, Macmillan, 4th edit. 1861, 16mo. [Antiquated, but still worth reading for its spirit.]

DÖLLINGER, J. J. Ign. von, *Heidenthum und Judenthum, Vorhalle zur Geschichte der Christenthums*, Regensburg 1857: translated by N. Darnell, and published under the title of *The Gentile and Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ*, 2 vols., Longmans, 1865–67. [Ably represents the entire range of paganism, as well as Judaism, at and before the coming of Christ.]

HARDWICK, CHARLES, *Christ and other Masters: an Historical Inquiry into some of the chief Parallelisms and Contrasts between Christianity and the Religious Systems of the Ancient World*, 1st edit., 2 vols. 12mo, Macmillan, 1858, 4th edit. 8vo, 1875, with Memoir. [Carries out its plan with respect to the religions of India, China, America, Oceanica, Egypt, and Medo-Persia.]

MÜLLER, F. MAX, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. i., Essays on the Science of Religion, Longmans, 1867. [Fifteen essays on phases of ethnic theology, with an important preface.]

CLARKE, JAMES FREEMAN, *Ten Great Religions: an Essay in Comparative Theology*, 1st edit. 1871, 20th edit., Boston 1883, also published by Trübner, London. *Second Part, A Comparison of all Religions*, Boston 1883. [The first part describes the ten religions of Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Persia, Egypt, Greece, Rome,

Scandinavia, Palestine, and Arabia: in the second part are considered the origin and development of all religions, and the ideas of God, of the soul, of the origin of the world, of prayer, of inspiration, of morals, and of the future life in all religions.]

TIELE, C. P., *Outlines of the History of Religion to the Spread of the Universal Religions*, translated from the Dutch by J. Estlin Carpenter, 1st edit. 1877, 2nd edit. 1880, Trübner. The new French edition, translated by Maurice Vernes, 1885, 12mo, has a more carefully prepared bibliography, with more complete characterization of books. [Very handy because of its sketches of the several faiths and its lists of books, in spite of its extreme evolutionary theory.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Of Ethnic Theology in general.*

NOTE.—The author has not felt it desirable to insert the various editions of the SACRED BOOKS *in the original tongues*, seeing that this book is a theological rather than a philological guide. If the Bible should be studied by the theologian in its original tongues, the ordinary Christian theologian can scarcely be expected to be familiar with Sanskrit and Zend, Maori and Comanchee. Something is of course lost in this study of sacred books at second hand, but the question is whether such study at second hand is not incalculably preferable to no study at all. Those who desire to read any sacred books in the originals, will find all necessary guidance to the various editions in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, in the bulletins of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, and in some bibliographical monographs specified at the beginning of the several sub-sections of this section, and to the necessary philological apparatus in Trübner's *Catalogue of Dictionaries and Grammars of the Principal Languages and Dialects of the World.*

MÜLLER, F. MAX, *Introduction to the Science of Religion, Four Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution, with Two Essays on False Analogies, and the Philosophy of Mythology*, 12mo, Longmans, 1873. [Lectures on some preliminary points, such as the value of the comparative method in religious science, the classification of religions, and the divine education of the race by its several religions, largely illustrated by examples from sacred books.]

MÜLLER, F. MAX, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India*, Hibbert Lectures for 1878, new edit., Longmans, 12mo, 1882. [Defines religion, argues the date of fetishism, traces growth of religion in India, with special reference to its earlier characteristics.]

Revue de l'Histoire de Religion, published bi-monthly since 1880, Paris. [An admirable unsectarian review devoted to ethnic religions, containing original articles, periodical summaries written by specialists upon the recent literature in the several branches, reviews, and brief accounts of the contents of periodicals.]

RÉVILLE, A., *Prolégomènes de l'Histoire de Religion*, Paris, 1st edit. 1880, 3rd edit. 1881: translated, with an introduction by Max Müller, under the title of *Prolegomena of the History of Religion*, Williams & Norgate, 1885. [Defines and classifies in the first part, and in the second treats of myth, symbolism, sacrifice, priesthood, and prophecy, as seen in religions, and their relations to theology, philosophy, morals, art, civilisation, and science.]

—— *Histoire des Religions, Les Religions des Peuples Non-civilisés*, vols. i. and ii., Paris 1883. [An attempt to expound the principles, forms, and tendencies of religion among non-civilised peoples, viz. the Negroes, the aborigines of the two Americas, the Polynesians, and the Finns.]

—— *Histoire des Religions, Les Religions du Mexique, de l'Amérique Centrale, et du Perou*, Paris 1885. [Continuation of the general plan.]

PERROT, G., ET C. CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité, Egypte, Assyrie, Perse, Asie Mineure, Grèce, Etrurie, Rome*; vol. i. Egypte, Paris 1882, 4to; vol. ii. Chaldée et Assyrie, 1884; vol. iii. Phénicie et Cypré, 1885. The volumes already issued are being translated into English. [From their plan, which is not only to give a history of art, but a reflection of manners as seen in art, these volumes, both because of their rich illustration and their research, are of considerable value in the study of the history of religions.]

DELFF, H. K. HUGO, *Grundzüge der Entwickelungsgeschichte der Religion*, Leipzig 1883. [Would show that religion is an outgrowth of the nature of man, pursuing its theme from the primitive times, through the origin and growth of polytheism and mythology, on through the Mongols, Arians, Semites, Egyptians, Hellenes, and Israelites, to Christianity.]

COOK, F. C., *The Origins of Religion and Language, considered in Five Essays*, Murray, 1884. [The first essay deals with the Rig-Veda, specially with its religious system; the second deals with the Persian cuneiform inscriptions and the Zend-Avesta; and the third with the Gathas of Zoroaster.]

(2.) *Of Religions of China.*

(*a*) *Chinese Religions in general.*

NOTE.—Consult the *Bulletin* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. i. pp. 346, etc., vol. iii. pp. 218, etc.

EDKINS, JOSEPH, *Religion in China, containing a brief Account of the Three Religions of the Chinese*, 3rd edit. 1884, Trübner, 1st edit. 1859. [A brief but lucid statement by an eye-witness of the three State religions of China —Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism,—with some remarks on Mahometans and Jews in China.]

DOUGLAS, ROBERT K., *Confucianism and Taoism*, 12mo, 1879; one of the volumes issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the series of "Non-Christian Religious Systems." [A brief survey of the life and teachings of Confucius and Mencius, of the Taoist books, and of modern Confucianism and Taoism.]

JOHNSON, SAMUEL, *Oriental Religions, and their Relation to Universal Religion—China*, in 2 vols., Trübner, 1883. [Marred by many hasty generalizations as to the purely natural origin of religion, but presenting the characteristics of all Mr. Johnson's work, of clearness, thoroughness, and interest.]

(b) *Confucianism.*

LEGGE, JAMES, *The Chinese Classics, with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and copious Indices,* Trübner, 1861, etc., in 7 vols., of which there have appeared,—vol. i., Life of Confucius and the first three classical books; vol. ii., the works of Mencius; vol. iii., The Shu-King; vol. iv., The Shi-King and other poetical pieces; vols. i., ii., and iv. have been published without the text in a smaller edition, under the titles, vol. i., *The Life and Teachings of Confucius,* 5th edit., Trübner, 1877; vol. ii., *The Life and Works of Mencius,* 1875; and vol. iii., *The Shi-King,* or book of ancient Chinese poetry, 1876. Translations of the *Shu-King, Shi-King* (in a prose translation, the previous edition being metrical), and *Hsiao-King* have appeared, with appropriate introductions and notes, in the *Sacred Books of the East,* vol. iii., and of the *Yi-King* in vol. xvi. of the same series. [Indispensable.]

PLATH, J. H., *Die Religion und der Cultus der alten Chinesen,* in two parts, Munich 1862: *Confucius und seiner Schüler, Leben und Lehren,* in 4 vols., viz. (i.) *Historische Einleitung,* Munich 1869; (ii.) *Leben des Confucius,* Munich 1870; (iii.) *Die Schüler des Confucius,* Munich 1873; (iv.) *Sämmtliche Aussprüche des Confucius und seiner Schülern, systematisch geordnet,* vol. i., Munich 1874. [Also indispensable.]

FABER, E., *A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius, according to the Analects, Great Learning, and Doctrine of the Mean,* Hongkong 1875.

(c) *Taoism.*

REMUSAT, A., *Le Livre des Récompenses et des Peines, traduit,* Paris 1816.

JULIEN, STANISLAS, *Lao Tseu Tao Te King, Le Livre de la Voie et de la Vertu, traduit,* Paris 1842.

CHALMERS, JOHN, *The Speculations on Metaphysics, Polity, and Morality of the old Philosopher Lau-tsze,* Trübner 1868.

WATTERS, THOMAS, *Lao-Tzu, a Study in Chinese Philosophy*, Hongkong 1870.

ROTERMUND, W., *Die Ethik Lao-tse's mit besonderer Bezugnahme auf der Buddhistischen Moral*, Gotha 1874.

(*d*) *Chinese Buddhism.*

NOTE.—Consult the *Bulletin* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. ii. pp. 363, etc.

EITEL, E. J., *Handbook for the Student of Chinese Buddhism*, Trübner, 1870. [A dictionary of Buddhist worthies, doctrines, and nomenclature, arranged alphabetically.]

EDKINS, JOSEPH, *Chinese Buddhism, a Volume of Sketches, Historical, Descriptive, and Critical*, 1880. [Examines various aspects of Northern Buddhism as held in China, its life of Buddha, its history, its schools, its morals, its doctrines, its ritual, and its literature.]

BEAL, SAMUEL, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, Trübner, 1871.

—— *The Fo-Sho-Hing-Tsan-King, a Life of Buddha by Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Dharmaraksha*, A.D. 420, vol. xix. of *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford 1883.

—— *Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang* (A.D. 629), in 2 vols., Trübner, 1884. [Records of the travels of various Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India during the early centuries of the Christian era.]

—— *The Romantic Story of Buddha*, 12mo, Trübner, 1872. [From a translation into Chinese made by a Buddhist priest about the end of sixth century A.D. from the Sanskrit life of Buddha, the Abhinishkramana Sutra.]

—— *Dhammapada, Texts from the Buddhist Canon, with Accompanying Narratives*, Trübner, 1878. [A *Chinese* version of the sacred texts, generally connected with some incident in the history of Buddha, and gathered from ancient canonical books of the Buddhists.]

—— *Buddhism in China*, S.P.C.K., 1884, 16mo. [Another of the admirable manuals in the series of "Non-Christian Religious Systems."]

(3.) *Of the Religion of Egypt.*

NOTE.—For the literature of the subject in general, see *A Catalogue of Leading Books on Egypt and Egyptology, and on Assyria and Assyriology*, Trübner, 1881; also consult the *Bulletins* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. i. pp. 119, etc., and vol. v. pp. 89, etc.

WILKINSON, GARDNER, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, including their Private Life, Government, Laws, Arts, Manufactures, Religion, Agriculture, and Early History, derived from a comparison of Paintings, Monuments, and Sculptures still existing, with the Accounts of Ancient Authors*, 3rd edit., in 5 vols., illustrated by 600 plates and woodcuts, Murray, 1847; originally published in two series, the one of three vols., 1st edit. 1836, and the other of two supplementary vols., 1st edit. 1840; an abridged and popular edition was published in 2 vols. 12mo in 1878. A revised edition was also issued under the care of Samuel Birch in 3 vols. in 1878. [The standard work on its subject, not quite up, however, to modern knowledge.]

LEPSIUS, R., *Das Todtenbuch der Ægypter, nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, Leipzig 1842. Also *Ueber den ersten Ægypt-Götterkreis und seine geschichtlich-mythologische Entstehung*, Berlin 1856. [These books rank high.]

BUNSEN, C. C. J., *Ægyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, vols. i.–iii., Hamburg 1844–45; vols. iv.–vi., Gotha 1856–57. Translated into English under the title, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, in 5 vols., 1848-67, in the fifth of which are many additions by Samuel Birch, including a translation of the *Book of the Dead*. [The fifth volume is indispensable.]

LENORMANT, F., *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient jusqu' aux Guerres Médiques*, 1st edit. 1868, 9th edit. 4to, profusely illustrated and thoroughly revised, Paris 1881–83, the third book of which contains an excellent study of the history, and the fourth an excellent study of the civilisation, morals, religion, and art of Egypt; the first edition, now superseded, was translated into English under the

title of *A Manual of the Ancient History of the East to the Commencement of the Median Wars*, by F. Lenormant and E. Chevallier, comprising the history of the Israelites, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Phœnicians and Arabians, 2 vols. 12mo, Asher, 1869–70.

Records of the Past, being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments, in 12 vols. 12mo, 1874, etc.; vols. ii., iv., vi., viii., x., xii. contain Egyptian texts. [Useful and cheap.]

Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, 1872, etc. [Many valuable monographs.]

Renouf, P. le Page, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, The Hibbert Lectures for 1879, Williams & Norgate, 1880. [Sketch the sources of information, the civilisation, the doctrines, and the religious books of Egypt; an admirable compendium of present knowledge.]

Rawlinson, Geo., *History of Ancient Egypt*, 2 vols., Longmans, 1881. [Chapter x. pp. 310–426 in vol. i. contains a useful survey of the Egyptian religion.]

Tiele, C. P., *Comparative History of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian Religions*, vol. i., *History of the Egyptian Religion, translated from the Dutch by James Ballingal*, Trübner, 1882. [Examines in separate chapters the religions of Thinis-Abydos, Heliopolis, the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms, and from the fall of the Ramessides to the Persian conquest.]

Hommel, Fritz, *Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen als erster Versuch einer Encyclopädie der Semitischen Sprach- und Alterthums-Wissenschaft*, vol. i., Leipzig, 1883. [Contains an interesting analysis of the pre-Semitic cultures in Egypt and Babylon.]

Brugsch, H., *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter, nach den Denkmälern*, 1st half, Leipzig 1884. [The first part of this book is introductory, and the second gives the mythology of the ancient Egyptians; promises to be the best manual of its subject.]

(4.) *Of the Shemitic Religions.*

(*a*) *Assyrian and Babylonian Religions.*

NOTE.—See Trübner's Catalogue mentioned in note under (3), and consult the *Bulletin* in the *Revue l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. i. pp. 327, etc.

HINCKS, E., *On the Assyrian Mythology*, Dublin 1855. [A good monograph.]

RAWLINSON, GEO., *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, Murray, 1st edit. 1862 ; vol. i., *Chaldæa and Assyria ;* vol. ii., *Assyria ;* vol. iii., *Babylon.* [Contains a good chapter upon the religion of each kingdom.]

Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, 1872, etc. [Many valuable monographs.]

Records of the Past, vols. i., iii., v., vii., ix., xi. contain Assyrian texts. [See (3).]

LENORMANT, F., *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient jusqu' aux Guerres Médiques, continué par Ernest Babelon*, 9th edit., *revue, corrigée, considerablement augmentée et illustrée de nombreuses figures d'après les monuments antiques*, Paris, vol. iv., 1885. [The fifth book, which occupies all this volume, deals with the history of the Assyrians and Chaldeans ; the book soon to be published will deal with the religion and civilisation.]

SMITH, GEORGE, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis, containing the Description of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, the Times of the Patriarchs, and Nimrod ; Babylonian Fables and Legends of the Gods, from the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Sampson Low, 1876 ; the German translation by Fr. Delitzsch, Leipzig 1876, has many valuable additions and annotations.

HALÉVY, J., *Documents religieux de l'Assyrie et de la Babylonie, texte, transcription en caractères hébraïques, traduction, commentaire*, Paris 1882. [A first part of the translation and commentary, the careful work of an accomplished specialist.]

(*b*) *Phœnician, Canaanitish, and Aramæan Religions.*

GESENIUS, WM., *Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta*

quotquot Supersunt, edita et inedita ad autographorum optimorumque exemplorum fidem edidit, in three parts, 4to, Leipzig 1837. Additional inscriptions will be found in JUDAS, *Etude démonstrative de la langue Phénicienne et de la langue Libyque,* Paris 1847; new edition, 1852, folio; and in *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum,* vol. i., *Inscriptiones Phœniciæ,* folio, 1881, Paris.

HITZIG, F., *Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistäer,* Leipzig 1845. [The standard book.]

MOVERS, F. C., *Die Phönizier,* Band i., *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Phönizier, mit Rücksicht auf die verwandten Götterdienste der heidnischen Israeliten, der Carthager, Syrer, Babylonier, und Ægypter,* Bonn 1841. [The standard book.]

BAUDISSIN, W. W., *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte,* part i., Leipzig 1876. [Contains useful monographs on the value of the history of the Phœnician religion given in Sanchuniathon, on the heathen gods of the Old Testament, and on the symbol of the serpent amongst the Phœnicians and others.]

TIELE, C. P., *La Religion des Phéniciens d'après les plus récents travaux,* article in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* vol. iii. pp. 167, etc.

(5.) *Of Mahometanism.*

NOTE.—Consult the *Bulletin* of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* vol. x. pp. 197, etc.

SALE, GEO., *The Koran, commonly called the Alcoran of Mohammed, translated into English immediately from the original Arabic, with Explanatory Notes, taken from the most approved Commentators, to which is prefixed a Preliminary Discourse,* 1st edit. 1734, 4to; a new edition with a memoir, and additions from Savary's version of the Koran, Tegg, 1865. [Still retains its ground for general utility.]

NOTE.—There are other translations by Wahl, Halle 1828; Kasimirski, Paris 1840; Ullmann, Crefeld 1840; Rodwell, London 1862, as well as the translation given below under the name of Palmer.

WEIL, G., *Muhamed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre,* Stuttgart 1843.

—— *Geschichte der Islamischen Völker von Mohammed bis zur Zeit des Sultans Selim,* Stuttgart 1866. [The best history for its period.]

—— *Einleitung in den Koran,* 2nd edit., Bielefeld and Leipzig 1878, 1st edit. 1844. [The three books together give an excellent view of the prophet, his book, and the early history of his dominion.]

PERCEVAL, CAUSSIN DE, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, pendant l'époque de Mahomet, et jusqu'à la reduction de toutes les tribus sous la loi Mussulmane,* 3 vols., Paris 1847–48. [A standard work on its subject.]

MERRICK, J. L., *Life and Religion of Mohammed, in accordance with the Shiite Traditions of the Hezat al-Kûlud, translated from the Persian,* Boston 1850.

NEALE, F. A., *Islamism: Its Rise and Progress, or the Present and Past Condition of the Turks,* 2 vols., 1854. [A good book.]

MUIR, W., *The Life of Mahomet and History of Islam,* 4 vols., 1858–61. [The best English life.]

—— *The Life of Mahomet from Original Sources,* 1 vol., Smith, Elder, & Co., 1877. [Substantially the same as the preceding, with the omission of some notes and introductory matter. A condensed edition was published by the Religious Tract Society in 1882.]

—— *The Coran: Its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures,* one of the volumes issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge under the title of "Non-Christian Religious Systems," 1878, 16mo.

SPRENGER, A., *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad,* 3 vols., Berlin 1861–65. [The best German life.]

SELL, E., *The Faith of Islam,* Trübner, 1880. [A succinct view of Mahometan doctrine.]

KREHL, L., *Ueber die Religion der Vorislamischen Araber,* Leipzig 1863. [Scholarly and reliable.]

—— *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammed,* vol. i., *Das*

Leben des Muhammed, Leipzig, 16mo, 1884. [Scholarly and reliable.]

NÖLDEKE, THEODOR, *Geschichte des Qorân's*, Göttingen 1860. [Should be consulted with Weil's *Einleitung* as an introduction to the Qoran.]

ALI, SYED AMEER, *A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, 12mo, Williams & Norgate, 1873. [Written by a Mohammedan.]

DEUTSCH, EMANUEL, *Literary Remains*, Murray, 1874. [Pp. 59–134 contain a striking and original article on "Islam."]

SMITH, R. BOSWORTH, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Smith & Elder, 12mo, 1874, 2nd edit. 1876. [Too polemical, but suggestive.]

STOBART, J. W. H., *Islam and its Founder*, one of the volumes issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge under the title of "Non-Christian Religious Systems," 16mo, 1876. [Presents summarily the pre-Mahometan history of Arabia, the life and teachings of Mahomet, and the spread of Islam.]

OSBORN, R. D., *Islam under the Arabs*, Seeley, 1877.

—— *Islam under the Khalifs of Baghdad*, Seeley, 1878. [These two interesting volumes—a third completing volume is promised—aim at disclosing the veritable character of Islam by an investigation of its actual results in the countries dominated by its influence.]

PALMER, E. H., *The Qur'ân*, vols. vi. and ix. of *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford 1880. [A new translation by the lamented Palmer, with a noteworthy introduction.]

WHERRY, E. M., *A Comprehensive Commentary to the Quran, to which is prefixed Sale's Preliminary Discourse, with additional notes and emendations*, vol. i., Trübner, 1882.

SYED AHMAD, *A Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed, and Subjects subsidiary thereto*, Trübner, 1882. [Written by a Mahometan.]

Encyclopædia Britannica, edit. ix., vol. xvi., 1883. See three striking articles by Wellhausen on Mohammed, by Guyard on the Eastern Caliphate, and by Nöldeke on the Koran.

(6.) *Of the Religions of India.*

(*a*) *Of the Religions of India generally.*

NOTE.—Consult the *Bulletins* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. i. pp. 102, etc., and pp. 239, etc., vol. iii. pp. 72, etc., vol. v. pp. 104, etc., and vol. v. pp. 227, etc., vol. x. pp. 37, etc., and pp. 160, etc.

COLEBROOKE, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*, 2 vols., 1837; 2nd edit., with Life of the Author by his son, 3 vols., 1873. [The most important of these essays, historically and essentially, are those on the Vedas, on the religious ceremonies of the Hindus, and on the philosophy of the Hindus.]

LASSEN, CHR., *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 4 vols., Bonn 1847–1861, 2nd edit. of vol. i., 1866, of vol. ii. 1874. [Like Colebrooke, one of the great pioneer works, which has become a classic on its subject.]

ANON., *A Dialogue of the Knowledge of the Supreme Lord, in which are compared the claims of Christianity and Hinduism, and various questions of Indian Religion and Literature fairly discussed*, Bell & Daldy, 1856. [Conveys much knowledge of Indian religion incidentally.]

PICTET, A., *Les Origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas Primitifs*, 2 vols., Paris 1859–63. [Important, although superseded in parts by more recent investigation.]

MÜLLER, MAX, *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature so far as it illustrates the Primitive Religion of the Brahmans*, 1859.

—— *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religions of India.* [See (1.) of this section.]

—— *Biographical Essays*, 12mo, 1884. [Lives of Rammohun Roy, Chunder Sen, Dayananda Saravati, Bunyiu Nanjio, and Colebrooke (amongst others), with many references to recent religious movements in India.]

MUIR, J., *Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions, Collected, Translated, and Illustrated*, in 5 vols., Trübner. The contents of the several volumes are as follows:

vol. i., Mythical and Legendary Accounts of the Origin of Caste, with an Inquiry into its Existence in the Vedic Age, 2nd edit. 1868; vol. ii., The Trans-Himalayan Origin of the Hindus, 2nd edit. 1871; vol. iii., The Vedas, Opinions of their Authors, and of later Indian Writers, on their Origin, Inspiration, and Authority, 2nd edit. 1868; vol. iv., Comparison of the Vedic with the later Representation of the principal Indian Deities, 2nd edit. 1873; vol. v., Contributions to a Knowledge of the Cosmogony, Mythology, Religious Ideas, Life and Manners of the Indians in the Vedic Age, 1870. [Indispensable.]

JOHNSON, SAM., *Oriental Religions, and their Relation to Universal Religion—India,* 2 vols., Trübner, 1879, Boston 1873. [In three parts,—the early Aryas and the Vedas, religious philosophy, Buddhism; see under (2.) in this section.]

WEBER, ALBRECHT, *The History of Indian Literature,* 2nd edit., Trübner, 1882, translated by John Mann and Theodor Zachariæ from the 2nd German edition, Berlin 1875. [A general but critical survey of the entire Sanskrit literature.]

WILLIAMS, MONIER, *Indian Wisdom, or Examples of the Religious, Philosophical and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindus, with a brief History of the chief Departments of Sanskrit Literature, and some Account of the Past and Present Condition of India, moral and intellectual,* Wm. H. Allen, 1st edit. 1875, 3rd edit. 1876. [Offers selected examples, translated from the original tongues, of the most remarkable religious, philosophical and ethical teachings of ancient Hindu authors.]

—— *Religious Thought and Life in India, an Account of the Religions of the Indian Peoples, based on a Life's Study of their Literature and on Personal Investigations in their own Country,* Murray; part i., Vedism, Brahmanism, and Hinduism, 1883; part ii., completing the survey, is not yet published. [Very useful.]

DOWSON, JOHN, *A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, Geography, History, and Literature,* Trübner, 1879. [Alphabetical.]

BARTH, A., *The Religion of India*, authorized translation by J. Wood (from an article reprinted and enlarged which appeared in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses* in 1879), Trübner, 1882. [Readable sketches of the Vedic religions, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism.]

Sacred Books of the East, translated by various Oriental scholars and edited by F. Max Müller, Oxford 1879, etc. The publication of a second series of 24 vols. is just beginning. The following volumes already published relate to the religions of India:—

Vols. i. and xv., *The Upanishads*, translated by F. Max Müller (ancient Vedic religious books).

Vols. ii. and xiv., *The Sutras of Apastamba and Gautama*, translated by G. Bühler (ancient law books in prose).

Vol. vii., *The Institutes of Vishnu*, translated by Julius Jolly (ancient law book in prose).

Vol. viii., *The Bhagavadgita*, translated by Kashinath Trimbak Telang (Hinduism).

Vol. x., *Dhammapada*, translated by F. Max Müller, and *Sutta Nipata*, translated by V. Fausböll (two books of the Buddhist sacred books in Pali).

Vol. xi., *Buddhist Suttas*, translated by Rhys Davids (several additional books of the Buddhist sacred books in Pali).

Vol. xii., *The Satapatha-Brahmana*, translated by Julius Eggeling (ancient Vedic religious books).

Vols. xiii. and xvii., *Vinaya Texts*, translated by Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg (Buddhist sacred books in Pali).

Vol. xxi., *The Saddharma Pundarika*, translated by H. Kern (Buddhist sacred books in Sanskrit).

Vol. xxii., *Gaina-Sutras*, translated by Hermann Jacobi, part i. (Jain sacred books in Prakrit).

(*b*) *Brahmanism.*

BENFEY, TH., *Die Hymnen des Sama-Veda*, Leipsic 1848. [Translates into German these Vedic hymns.]

WILSON, H. H., *Rig-Veda Sanhita, a Collection of Ancient Hindu Hymns*, Trübner, 1850, etc., in 6 vols., of which the first is in a 2nd edition, and the fifth and sixth are in the press. [Translated from the Sanskrit, thus constituting the oldest authority for the religious and social institutions of Hindus.]

HAUG, MARTIN, *The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rig-Veda: containing the Earliest Speculations of the Brahmans on the meaning of the Sacrificial Prayers, and on the Origin, Performance, and Sense of the Rites of the Vedic Religion, edited, translated, and explained*, Trübner, 2 vols. 1863; the second volume contains the translation with notes.

MÜLLER, F. MAX, *The Sacred Hymns of the Brahmins, as preserved to us in the oldest collection of religious poetry, the Rig-Veda Sanhita, translated and explained*, vol. i., Hymns to the Maruts, or the Storm-Gods, Trübner, 1869. [The rest of these hymns are promised.]

WHITNEY, W. D., *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, first series, New York 1873, Trübner, 1874. [Contains several excellent studies on the Veda, and its doctrines and translations.]

GELDNER, K., A. KAEGI, and R. ROTH, *Siebenzig Lieder des Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Tübingen, 1875. [Translated into German.]

LUDWIG, A., *Der Rigveda oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brahmana, zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt mit Commentar und Einleitung*, Prague, 5 vols., 1876–1883. [Vols. i. and ii. contain the translation; vol. iii. an excellent introduction to the hymns, from a study of themselves, their times, and their religion; vols. iv. and v. give an elaborate commentary upon the translation.]

KAEGI, A., *Der Rigveda, die älteste Literatur der Inder*, 2nd edit. revised and enlarged, 16mo, Leipsic 1881; the first edition appeared as two lectures given at Zurich in 1876 and 1879. [A brief but lucid and scholarly essay upon the Rig-Veda, illustrated throughout by translations into German.]

BERGAIGNE, ABEL, *La Religion Védique d'après les Hymnes du*

Rig-Veda, 3 vols., Paris 1878–1883. [Really a commentary upon the Veda; scholarly and original.]

(*c*) *Buddhism.*

(Compare (2 *d*) of this section, on Chinese Buddhism.)

NOTE.—In KISTNER, O., *Buddha and His Doctrines, a Bibliographical Essay*, Trübner, 1869, there are 32 8vo pages devoted to works on Buddhism.

BURNOUF, EUGÈNE, *Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, Paris, 1st edit. 1844; 2nd edit., unchanged, but preceded by a notice by Barthélemy St. Hilaire upon the works of Burnouf, 1876. [Two monographs, the second very scholarly and elaborate, on Buddhism in general, and the collection of sacred books of Nepal, their description and their doctrines; there is a series of interesting appendices on Nirvana, the Buddhist names for God, etc.; a classic work.]

—— *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, traduit du Sanscrit, accompagné d'un commentaire et de vingt et un mémoires relatifs au Buddhisme*, Paris, 4to, 1852. [A translation of this characteristic canonical book of the Buddhists, with lengthy notes and appendices, most of the latter dealing with prominent features of Buddhism. The same book has been translated by Kern in *Sacred Books of the East.*]

KÖPPEN, C. F., *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*, Berlin 1857. [Somewhat antiquated, but still useful.]

BIGANDET, P., *The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese, with annotations, the Ways to Neibban* [*Nirvana*], *and Notice on the Phongyies or Burmese Monks*, 1st edit., Rangoon 1858, 3rd edit. in 2 vols., Trübner, 1880. [Presents, from original sources of information, a life of Buddha, with some notions of his principal teachings, notes which convey detailed notices of Buddhism in general and particularly in Burmah, brief accounts of the former existences of Buddha, and descriptions of the chief points of discipline of the Buddhist monks.]

HARDY, R. SPENCE, *A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development, translated from Singhalese MSS.*, 1860,

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PART II.

(Continued.)

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DIVISION III.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

A. BIBLICAL THEOLOGY GENERALLY CONSIDERED, §§ 27–30.

B. BIBLICAL THEOLOGY SPECIFICALLY CONSIDERED, §§ 31–69.

A. §§ 27–30.—BIBLICAL THEOLOGY IN GENERAL.

§ 27.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

WE now advance to the third branch of theological science, the science or sciences of the Bible. The Bible occupies a position amongst sacred books altogether unique. To class it among the Sacred Books of the East would be to ignore, not only its own claims, which in itself would be but a small matter, but the numerous and varied facts which substantiate those claims, and which remove the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to a category all their own. As a matter of fact, too, the Bible has been submitted to more protracted and careful investigation of a scientific kind than any other religious books, however ancient or honoured; and much more exact acquaintance can be readily obtained with the theology of the Bible than with the theology of the Koran or the Vendidad. Indeed, the organism of the Biblical sciences which together make up Biblical theology might be constituted into a type of that series of studies which can alone exhaust the theological researches upon any other sacred book. To the investigation of the present position of Biblical theology we now proceed.

Biblical theology, then, is the science—or more accurately the group of sciences—concerned with the facts presented by the Bible. This, it is necessary to say once more, is not the only meaning which has been attached to the term, because, like theology itself, as has been already remarked more than once, Biblical theology has been used in a wider and a narrower sense, at one time being understood to signify the sciences of all the facts afforded by the Bible, and at another

time simply the science of one class of those facts, namely, the doctrinal declarations of the Old and New Testaments. For this narrower significance the name Biblical dogmatics is used in this book—first, for the sake of preserving a parallel terminology throughout, and secondly, inasmuch as, if Biblical theology be restricted to the science of Biblical doctrine, no other equally appropriate name presents itself for the larger science. Biblical theology treats, then, according to scientific method, of everything pertaining to the interpretation and exposition of Scripture. By collecting, classifying, examining, and reasoning upon the data supplied by the Old and New Testaments, an organism of sciences is built up, to which collectively the name of Biblical theology is given.

This group of sciences has sometimes been called exegetical theology; but whilst the name is not wholly inappropriate, it is not so exact as Biblical theology. There might be an exegetical theology of the Koran, or the Vedas, or the Tripitaka, or even of the dialogues of Plato.

The problem of the Biblical sciences follows from the above definition. In the devotional use of Scripture we withdraw for a while "from the thoughts and cares of the world, to enter into a pure and holy atmosphere, where the God of love and redemption reveals Himself to the heart, and where the simplest believer can place himself by the side of the psalmist, the prophet, or the apostle, in that inner sanctuary where no sound is heard but the gracious accents of divine promise, and the sweet response of assured and humble faith."[1] But we are concerned at present with the scientific use, which is thorough instead of fragmentary, consecutive and not occasional, accurate rather than hortatory, true for all, and not merely personal. This scientific use is an application of the inductive method under the special circumstances of the case. The Bible is an ancient record, written in dead tongues, and transmitted to us through many vicissitudes, and it is this antique sacred book which is to be examined according to the inductive method.

It is manifest upon a moment's reflection that when we are studying any ancient book, the further we are removed from

[1] Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 6.

the period in which its author or authors wrote, the more difficult it is to discover the circumstances in which they were placed, the peculiar objects they had in view, the situation and sentiments of the original readers, and even the exact bearing of the several arguments. Further, if, in addition to distance in time, we are removed in space, if the laws and customs of the birthplace of the book had little resemblance to ours, if its language and forms of expression are little analogous to those in use amongst ourselves, the difficulty of interpretation must be yet more evident. Let us remember, further, what a work we have in the Bible, composed partly in Greek, partly in Hebrew; containing histories, legislation, poetry, prophecy, doctrine, more than fifteen hundred years intervening between the composition of its earliest and its latest book, and a still larger interval separating its latest book from the present age, written too in a country and under circumstances very different from our own. Surely any one will see how these ancient oriental writings demand some clearness of view for their apprehension and much perseverance. Literature of our own times we are able to follow and comprehend by a sort of instinct, because of our participation in the language, thoughts, and mental atmosphere of the present. When, however, we are examining the literary productions of long past ages, the great desideratum is to abolish by all possible expedients the difference of standpoint between ourselves and the original writers. Hence the problem of Biblical theology. It is, first, to ascertain the several expedients by which the chasm of time and change may be bridged, and, next, by the application of these expedients to reap the rich harvest of impregnable knowledge of the holy writings, their contents, their spirit, and their potentialities.

The problem, then, of Biblical theology is to investigate and to appropriate the contents of the Bible by treating it at the outset just as other literary relics of a buried past are treated. All scientific literary critics are agreed that their primary concern must be with the criticism of the transmitted text, that is to say, with a reasoned estimate in general and in detail of the value and reliableness of the ancient text preserved to us. The Bible has to be treated, they point

out, to start with, like an edition of Homer or Thucydides, and the first step in any scientific treatment is to ascertain as far as possible, by the comparison of manuscripts, and all the legitimate processes of what is called textual criticism, what were the very words of the poet of the Iliad, or the historian of the Peloponnesian War. Even if in the end the Bible be elevated to a category all its own, at the outset, in any scientific method of investigation, the Bible must be submitted to the same treatment as every ancient book. Not possessing the autographs of the writers of the Old and New Testaments, but only numerous varying transcripts of many dates, the first step must be to critically weigh these extant copies with the appropriate appliances. Then, having utilized the processes of textual criticism, the scientific investigator proceeds to treat the Bible still like any other ancient literary relic, and endeavours, in the next place, to ascertain the exact meaning of the text he has criticised. For this purpose he calls in the aid of philology,—the laws of Hebrew and Greek grammar, and the facts of Hebrew and Greek lexicology. With these aids, together with the other helps of the practised translator, such as the analogy of Scripture, the perception of style, the resuscitation of habits and customs, the correction for age, in each of which considerable room is found for the most wary literary instincts and the most skilled culture, inquiry is made into the meaning of isolated passages. From the comprehension of brief passages advance is then made to the understanding of sections, chapters, books, collections of books. When a fair acquaintance has been gained by these ordinary exegetical methods of the significance of Scripture, what may be called the higher or specialized exegesis follows, and an attempt may be made to prosecute individual lines of investigation, to apprehend some phase of the doctrine or history or other contents of the entire Bible. In this manner such sciences are framed as those of Biblical archæology, chronology, dogmatics, ethics. When the entire contents of the Bible have been ascertained, classified, and arranged in due order in one science, which is a collection of several sciences, Biblical theology has reached its goal. If this statement of the general problem of the Biblico-theological

sciences requires any further addition at the present stage, it is this, a word of encouragement to the beginner. It is not necessary for him to reconstruct these sciences from the foundation; he has simply to enter into and enjoy the fruit of the labours of many generations of workers; nevertheless, whilst he has not to build everywhere from the foundations, he must test everywhere, and not take the reliableness of all previous work on trust. In this work of testing, the primary need is a precise conception of the method of the several branches of investigation involved.

§ 28.

UTILITY OF THE STUDY OF THE GROUP OF SCIENCES CALLED BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

IF all the laborious investigation briefly sketched in the preceding section appear supererogatory, pleas may be put in for such a scientific study of the Bible, both because of its essential importance,—because the Bible is what it is,—and because of its importance to the theologian.

ON THE ONE HAND, THE BIBLE IS DESERVING OF *the closest and the most careful* STUDY BECAUSE OF THE CHARACTER OF ITS CONTENTS. For, FIRST, *the Bible is attractive as literature.* Its portrayal of character is most realistic; it is free in a remarkable degree from the vanity and egotism of the literary class; events are allowed to speak for themselves without verbal colouring; there is a dignity as well as a simplicity everywhere which does not descend to comedy or satire; there is an unparalleled naturalness in every form of composition adopted by the numerous writers; these and many other features place the Bible on the highest pinnacle of literary excellence. As Sir William Jones, himself no mean critic or scholar, has said, "the collection of tracts which we call from their excellence the Scriptures, contain (independently of a divine origin) more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed in any age or any idiom: the two parts of which the Scriptures consist are connected by a chain of compositions which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning."[1]

[1] *Works*, vol. iii. p. 183, edit. 1807.

Then, SECONDLY, *the Bible declares itself the record of divine revelation;* what God hath spoken in many ways and in many portions by the mouths of His chosen prophets, spoken words which are "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness," is all written here professedly.

Again, THIRDLY, *the Bible has a peculiar usefulness in the fostering of the spiritual life,* and the more accurate our knowledge, the more well-grounded becomes its devotional use.

Nor, FOURTHLY, *should we forget the remarkable universality of the Bible.* As Henry Rogers so strikingly pointed out, the reception accorded to the Bible has been wonderfully independent of race; this book has evoked in numerous lands a prodigious literature; this book has become the favourite source of quotation of many times and many people; the poetry, the sculpture, the painting, the music of different nationalities has received inspiration from this book; this book has shown itself capable of translation into all tongues, becoming straightway an example and model of literary style; by comparison with other books, sacred and profane, its humanness and its divinity become increasingly clearer. "To find," he justly says, "a parallel to the case of the Bible, we must see a collection of many writings—all written by one of the most obscure and despised nations—spontaneously accepted as a unique repository of divine and moral wisdom, not by one tribe or nation only, but among many, and these of the most diverse races, of every conceivable variety in local position, historic origin, religious belief, tradition, and language; not during a period of barbarism only, but in ages of the greatest knowledge, learning, and refinement; not by the vulgar and ignorant only among these various nations and races, but by multitudes of the loftiest and most accomplished minds; not by such as are led by tradition merely, and who give an otiose consent accordingly, but by men who have come to their convictions after the most searching scrutiny as to the evidence of that which has thus enthralled them; not where error is so consecrated by law, and so fenced from all opposition, that nothing can be said

against it, but where hostile criticism has had full liberty to do its worst."[1] For reasons such as these,—its literary excellence, its revealed character, its devotional inspiration, its universality,—if the Bible is worth studying at all, it is worth studying with all possible appliances and aids, in a word, scientifically.

But, ON THE OTHER HAND, *seeing that the Bible cannot be neglected by* THE STUDENT OF THEOLOGY, *without loss, he too* HAS AN INCENTIVE TO CARRY ON HIS RESEARCHES WITH ALL THE AIDS HE CAN COMMAND, *for the scientific study of the Bible is the goal of some theological studies, and the starting-point of others.*

The truths of natural theology, FIRST, have their complement in those of the Bible, and he who accepts the doctrines of God, of man, and of sin that are taught by nature, and refuses to examine the evidence on which developed forms of the same doctrines are taught in the Bible, can be called nothing less than unscientific. As surely as the Bible points back to the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, so surely does that universal light point on to the revelations of Scripture. At least so many rightly contend. The very contention, then, necessitates that, whatever the ultimate decision, whether for or against the exceptional character of the contents of the Bible, those contents should be studied in as scientific a manner as modern research renders possible.

If this is the only logical course open to the investigator of the religious teaching of nature, how much more is such a course imperative upon the student of the extra-Biblical religions of the world! Here again the scientific study of ethnic religion necessitates, if there is to be either certainty or completeness, the scientific study of Biblical religion. The Bible is but one of the sacred books of the world, and if it claims a special inspiration as its source, so do many other sacred books; so says one student of ethnic theology. The Bible stands forth amongst all the religious books of the universe as exceptional in its origin and exceptional in its

[1] *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible,* Lecture VIII., on the Exceptional Position of the Bible in the World.

influence; so another student of ethnic theology asserts. In this place it is not necessary to discuss, still less to settle, the rival claims. All that it is necessary to say is, that neither one side nor the other is at liberty to be content with a superficial study of the Bible. Before definite and sure conclusions can be arrived at, the Bible must be investigated with all the aids to be gained from scientific students of its contents. *So,* SECONDLY, *ethnic theology points on to Biblical theology.*

Still more evident is it that, THIRDLY, *no sure step can be taken in the study of ecclesiastical theology without a prior knowledge of Biblical theology.* For what is ecclesiastical theology? Is it not the scientific study of the doctrines and practices confessedly drawn by the Churches of Christ from the Bible, notably in the initial stages of those practices and doctrines? How then shall the development of Christendom be scientifically traced if its primary phases be not scientifically known? How shall the Post-Apostolic Age be accurately understood from ecclesiastical writers, if the Apostolic Age be not accurately understood from the writers of the New Testament? How shall the darkness of the Middle Age be depicted except by contrast with the brightness of the days when the Acts of the Apostles were penned? How shall the epoch of the Reformation be satisfactorily delineated, restoration as it was of the primitive Apostolic Age, unless the written records of the Apostolic Age themselves have been laid bare by capable writers upon the New Testament times?

Similarly, FOURTHLY, *an adequate knowledge of doctrinal theology presupposes a satisfactory knowledge of Biblical theology;* for the Bible supplies data from which the doctrinal theologian constructs doctrine, and whatever doctrinal formulas may be deduced from the investigation of nature, of the ethnic religions, or even of the creeds of Christian Churches, all these lack an indispensable element of completeness, if the scientific investigation of the teaching of Holy Scripture be absent.

LASTLY, *it is only needful to name the close connection between the Bible and the public work of the Christian pastor, to make immediately evident the close relation between Biblical*

and pastoral theology. Expositions of Scripture must be scientific in validity, if not in form, if they are to be of permanent use; and texts and doctrines of the Bible, which are handled with neither accuracy nor pertinence, whilst they minister to the ill-repute of the preacher, demonstrate clearly the need of some acquaintance with the recognised methods and ascertained results of Biblical theology.

§ 29.

DIVISION OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

FROM what has been already said, in a preceding section, as to the problems of the Biblico-theological sciences, it is evident that these sciences may be arranged under three heads, viz.—first, the introductory sciences, or the aids to the interpretation of Scripture; secondly, the exegesis itself of the several books of Scripture, resulting from the application of the introductory aids; and thirdly, the sciences resulting from the application to sections of the entire Bible of the exegetical knowledge given by the second division. Under each of these heads there are several subdivisions, in the arrangement of which, as in the arrangement of the three larger heads, the principle of division previously adopted will equally regulate our procedure, the progress being everywhere, as Descartes suggested, from the simpler to the more complex science. The complete scheme would run as follows:—

> First Head: Biblical Introduction, or the aids to Biblical exegesis, *i.e.* the subsidiary sciences necessary to the interpretation of Scripture, or, as it might be expressed, *the means for obtaining the data of Biblical theology.*

1. *Biblical Canonics*, or the determination of what books constitute the Bible. (Subdivision I.)
2. *Biblical Textual Criticism*, or the study of the original texts of the Old and New Testaments. (Subdivision II.)
3. *Biblical Philology*, or the study of the sacred languages. (Subdivision III.)
4. *Biblical Hermeneutics*, or the principles of Biblical interpretation. (Subdivision IV.)
5. *Biblical Introduction* in general. (Subdivision V.)

SECOND HEAD: BIBLICAL EXEGESIS, *the Data of Biblical Theology*, or the science resulting from applying the preceding aids. (Subdivision VI.)

THIRD HEAD: BIBLICAL EXEGESIS APPLIED SPECIFICALLY, *the Inductions of Biblical Theology*, or the sciences resulting from the exegetical interpretation of phases of the entire Bible.

1. *Biblical Archæology*, sometimes called Biblical antiquities, or the investigation of the facts pertaining to Biblical geography, natural history, chronology, ethnography, law, politics, rites, etc. (Subdivision VII.)
2. *Biblical History*, or the investigation of the successive phases of the life of the Old and New Testaments. (Subdivision VIII.)
3. *Biblical Literary Criticism*, or the investigation of the credibility of Scripture on internal grounds. (Subdivision IX.)
4. *Biblical Dogmatics*, or the investigation of the doctrines of the Bible. (Subdivision X.)
5. *Biblical Ethics*, or the investigation of the moral facts of the Bible. (Subdivision XI.)
6. *Some other Biblical Sciences*, *e.g.* Biblical psychology, sociology, etc. (Subdivision XII.)

§ 30.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED UPON THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY IN GENERAL.

HORNE, T. HARTWELL, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, Longmans, 1st edit. 1834, 12th edit. 1869. [Deals with far more than what is technically called introduction, the first vol. treating of the genuineness, authenticity, and inspiration of the Bible; the second, of textual criticism and the law of interpretation; the third, of bibliography; the fourth, of the analysis of all the books of Scripture; and the fifth, of Biblical geography and antiquities: still useful, although antiquated.]

SMITH, WILLIAM, *Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, in 3 vols., Murray, 1863. [Most useful, but requires completing to date.]

KITTO, JOHN, *A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, originally edited by John Kitto, 3rd edit., greatly enlarged and improved, edited by W. Lindsay Alexander, Edinburgh, 3 vols. 4to, 1863. [Also very useful, but not quite up to present knowledge.]

DIESTEL, LUDWIG, *Geschichte des Alten Testamentes in der christlichen Kirche*, Jena 1869. [The standard book on the history of the phases of Christian belief upon the Old Testament.]

RIEHM, EDWARD C. A., *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums, für gebildete Bibelleser*, in 2 vols., 1875–84, Bielefeld and Leipzig. [An admirable book, well written and well illustrated, the latest and best dictionary of the Bible.]

Aids to the Student of the Holy Bible, latest and best edition,

1881, given as an appendix to the Variorum Bible edited by T. K. Cheyne, R. L. Clarke, S. R. Driver, and Alfred Goodwin; Eyre & Spottiswoode. [The Variorum Bible is most useful, giving in brief footnotes the various readings and renderings suggested by the best authorities; whilst the *Aids* form a most scholarly and valuable companion to the Bible.]

YOUNG, ROBERT, *Analytical Concordance to the Bible on an entirely new plan, containing every word in alphabetical order, arranged under its Hebrew or Greek original, with the literal meaning of each, and its pronunciation, with the latest information on Biblical Geography, Antiquities*, 4th edit., revised, Edinburgh 1881. [Indispensable; its appendices form a good companion to the Bible.]

ZÖCKLER, OTTO, *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften in encyklopädischer Darstellung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Entwicklungsgeschichte der einzelnen Disciplinen*, in 3 vols., Nördlingen 1882–84. [The first volume deals with Biblical theology, giving an excellent summary of the present state of Biblical science.]

B. §§ 31-69.—BIBLICAL THEOLOGY SPECIFICALLY CONSIDERED.

FIRST HEAD: SCIENCES INTRODUCTORY TO EXEGESIS.

SUBDIVISION I.: BIBLICAL CANONICS.

§ 31.

DEFINITION AND PROBLEM OF BIBLICAL CANONICS.

ADVANCING, then, in due course from the study of Biblical theology in general to the examination of the specific Biblical sciences, we commence with those sciences which prepare the way for the interpretation of Scripture. The several Biblical sciences may be arranged, as we have seen, under three categories, those introductory to exegesis, exegesis itself, and those resulting from the application of exegesis. It is the introductory sciences with which it is necessary to first deal. The great aim before us in the scientific study of Scripture is to appropriate its invaluable contents; but before proceeding with such appropriation there are certain preliminary questions which must be asked, upon the solution of which all satisfactory progress depends. Thus, seeing that we are about to deal with the Bible, the question arises, how came it that the collection of sacred books called the Old and New Testaments were treated with an ever-growing respect as compared with the books which are classed as apocryphal? Such a question confronts us with the special problems of the science of Biblical canonics. Again, what good reason is there for believing that the present texts of the Old and New Testaments fairly represent the original words written by prophets, historians, and apostles in the days of the past, and that they are not so corrupt as to be unreliable? Here a second preliminary science, that of textual

criticism, must give the reply. Yet again, the question calls for inquiry as to whether our modern acquaintance with the two dead languages in which the Bible was written is sufficiently accurate to warrant certainty of interpretation; and this problem can only be set at rest by a third preliminary science, that of Biblical philology. And yet again a further point crops up, viz. is a knowledge of the grammatical laws and dictionary facts of the Bible sufficient to ensure reliableness in interpretation? and this point has been discussed by a fourth preliminary science called Biblical hermeneutics. Manifestly, therefore, sound interpretation of Scripture calls for certain preliminary studies. Let us treat of these studies in order, dealing, first, with Biblical canonics; secondly, with Biblical textual criticism; thirdly, with Biblical philology; and fourthly, with Biblical hermeneutics. Further, seeing that all these studies are sometimes massed under a single title, and are called Biblical introduction, brief attention may be given in the fifth place to Biblical introduction in general. These sciences having been sketched, it will be possible to proceed with security to the actual interpretation of the Bible.

First, then, let the canon of Scripture be considered. At the outset, however, a caution is necessary. There is an ambiguity about the use of the word canon which has not been without its mischievous influence during the course of history. When we speak of the canon or standard of Scripture, we may mean either the standard by which the truth of Scripture is determined, — the canon *of* Scripture; or we may mean Scripture as itself the standard of truth,—the canon *in* Scripture. We may mean the rational grounds upon which the Bible is constituted authoritative, or the Bible as itself an authority. The confusion of idea is not unfrequently met with to-day, where the canon of Scripture now signifies the standard by which a book is constituted Scripture,—the criterion of Scripture, and now Scripture itself as a standard,—Scripture as a criterion. Biblical canonics is only concerned with the facts of the constituting of Scripture into a canon, not with the grounds upon which that constitution rationally takes place. There are undoubtedly two questions

which arise concerning the collection of sacred books called the Bible, namely, on the one hand, how did this collection come to be formed? and on the other hand, what are the intrinsic grounds, other than the fact of its formation, which constitute such a collection a standard of faith and practice? Both questions are highly interesting and important, but they are not both included under the idea of Biblical canonics. Throughout Biblical theology we are dealing with data, not doctrines, with facts, not the rational grounds of those facts; and in Biblical canonics we are accordingly concerned with the fact of the constitution of a canonical Bible, not with the grounds which render such a constitution rational; we are concerned with the fact, not with the doctrine of sacred Scripture. Taking the Bible as it stands, a preliminary question to its exposition is, how did this Bible as a whole arise? how comes it that these sixty-six books, written at different times, and by different writers, have been framed into an authoritative whole? The very difficult but very fascinating problem of the reasons for the authoritative character of Scripture as a rule of faith will be considered in their appropriate place, as a branch of *doctrinal* theology, not Biblical. At present, recognising the fact of the existence of the Bible as a whole, the historical explanation of that fact is to be studied with accuracy and in order. The question, then, of which Biblical canonics treats is, how these sixty-six books of the early literature of Judaism and Christianity came to be framed into one standard collection, considered authoritative, inspired, divine, *canonical.*

The problem, then, of Biblical canonics is to show how the sixty-six books of the Bible, of various ages, by different authors, and of diverse literary forms, came to be associated together as an authoritative code. The materials for judgment are of course to be found in ancient testimony. That ancient testimony is of two kinds,—references to the entire collection of sacred writings as such, especially catalogues of books esteemed canonical, and references to single books as such, also spoken of as canonical. Further, this evidence of ancient witnesses must include negative as well as positive testimony. It is not enough to show that certain books were

considered canonical; it is also necessary to show that other books were not considered canonical. Extant writers of the past have to be ransacked, first, to find any references favourable to the canonical character of the Biblical books, individually or collectively; secondly, to ascertain that there are no references adverse to the canonical character of the Biblical books, individually or collectively; and thirdly, to collect all the references to any individual books regarded as apocryphal, as they are technically called, or in other words, uncanonical. Such is the problem. The nature of the resulting investigation will best appear upon the brief outline of the science given in the next section but one, the next section being devoted to a few reasons for studying Biblical canonics.

§ 32.

UTILITY OF THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL CANONICS.

FROM what has been said in the previous section, it is evident that we are not yet in a position to decide the reasonableness or unreliableness of the claims which the Bible makes on its own behalf. Such an examination belongs to a much later phase of theological inquiry than Biblical canonics. Nevertheless, although the scientific study of the canon of Scripture cannot alone substantiate the exalted position amongst the sacred books of the world which Christians demand for the Bible, the study of the history of the canon does confer some manifest advantages. As Canon Westcott[1] remarks with justice, "A full examination of the objections which have been raised against particular books, a detailed account of the external evidence by which they are severally supported, an accurate estimate of the internal proofs of their authenticity, are indeed most needful; but, besides all this, it seems no less important to gain a wide and connected prospect of the history of the whole collection of the New Testament Scriptures, to trace the gradual recognition of a written Apostolic rule as authoritative and divine, to observe the gradual equalization of 'the Gospels and Epistles' with 'the Law and the Prophets,' to notice the predominance of partial, though not exclusive, views in different Churches, till they were all harmonized in a universal creed, and witnessed by a completed canon." Of course Canon Westcott is speaking here of the New Testament; but the study of the growth of the entire canon is equally instructive. Before the entire claims of the Bible can be decided upon, many varieties of evidence, external and internal, must be weighed; but amongst the external branches of evidence, the history of the

[1] *On the Canon of the New Testament*, p. 1.

canon, of its formation and acceptance, holds an important place.

For, FIRST, *the large unanimity of Christians, a unanimity which grew with inquiry, and was proportioned to the care of examination, as to the authoritativeness of the books of Scripture, invests those books with a peculiar interest.* Christians of all creeds and many divergences have been at one in their acceptance of the books of the Old and New Testament as canonical, the *fons et judex* of Christian truth. This universality of opinion, the result of a developing but an irresistible sentiment, is an item of considerable value, the Christian Churches consisting of members such as they have contained, and sustaining external attacks such as they have borne. The common sense of Christians is as deserving of notice as any other form of common sense.

Then, SECONDLY, *the very variations of view disclosed by the history of the canon, slight as they are, are also instructive, on the one hand, because of their slightness, and on the other, because of their testimony to alertness of mind.* For what are the differences of view? As regards the Old Testament, whether the apocryphal books shall be embodied in the canon. As regards the New Testament, there is no difference as far as the formulated beliefs of the several Churches are concerned. It is true that all the Protestant Churches are agreed also upon the Old Testament, but at present there is another remark which it is desirable to make. The difference of view concerning the canonical character of the additional books of the Hellenistic Old Testament is, after all, supremely unimportant. The contents of these books no more affect the doctrinal character of Christianity than the variations brought to light by textual criticism. As compared with the Law and the Prophets, they are altogether second or even tenth rate. Their interest is purely historic. The prophetic and didactic elements of the Old Testament are untouched by the question as to the canonicity of the disputed books. The suggestive fact of the unanimous acknowledgment of the canonicity of the Hebrew Bible by all Churches is unaffected by diversity of view as to the Apocrypha.

And, THIRDLY, the gradual elimination of books of doubtful

authority by the consent of the early Churches, strengthens confidence in the books retained. As will be seen in the next section, there was hesitancy as regards the canonicity of some books now unanimously acknowledged, just as there was precipitancy in labelling as canonical some books now unanimously rejected. A growing conviction fixed the canon; there was some dubitation whilst that conviction was forming; once intelligently and generally matured, this touchstone of a universal sentiment selected with precision what was noble metal, as surely as it failed to find an answering attraction for what was base. The fact of the unanimous acceptance of the New Testament, and of the Hebrew Old Testament, as canonical by all Christian Churches, invests this collection of sacred books with a peculiar interest, and renders them worthy, to say the least, of the closest study.

FOURTHLY, the great gain, however, of the study of Biblical canonics is to show with accuracy what the Bible is, by showing both how it has come to be formed into an authoritative collection and at the same time how it has held its ground since its first formation. Biblical canonics supplies an accurate definition of the Bible.

§ 33.

HISTORY OF THE CANON.

BIBLICAL CANONICS, which is really a history of the canon, falls by the nature of the case into two divisions, viz. the collection of the books of the Old Testament into one canonical whole, and the elevation of the New Testament books to a canonical place beside the Old Testament. Each of these two phases of the formation of the canon involves an elaborate investigation, all too superficially understood even to-day, the barest outline of which can be given here. With respect to both the Old Testament and the New there is a stage of formation of the canon, and a stage of its general acceptance, and under each of these heads some few words should be said.

At the commencement of the Christian era the CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT was extant in two forms, the Palestinian and the Alexandrian. The Palestinian or Hebrew Old Testament was composed of twenty-eight books. If some regarded the canon as composed of twenty-five books, this was only because the two books of Samuel, of Kings, and Chronicles were each reckoned as but one book; and if some spoke of twenty-two books, as did Josephus and some Fathers of the Church, in their desire to make the number of books square with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet, this only arose from regarding Ruth as a supplement to Judges, Lamentations as an appendix to Jeremiah, and Ezra and Nehemiah as two parts of the same work. These twenty-eight books were classed under three sections, and arranged in the following order:—The first section was the Law, in Hebrew *Thorah*, comprising the five books attributed to Moses, that is to say, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The second section was called the Prophets, in Hebrew

Nebiim, most probably so named as emanating from the prophetic schools; this section being divided into two parts, the one of which, under the title of *Nebiim Richonim*, or Former Prophets, comprised Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, and the two books of Kings, and the other of which, the *Nebiim Acharonim*, or Latter Prophets, included Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor Prophets, considered but one book. The third section, the Ketubim or Writings *par excellence*, holy writings, hagiographa, contained the Psalms, the Proverbs, Job, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the two books of Chronicles. This is the form in which the Hebrew Old Testament has come down to us at this day. Nor is this triple division of late date; it is found in Ecclesiasticus, in the New Testament, and in Josephus, in Philo, and in the Talmud. The Alexandrian canon, presented in the Septuagint, is more than a bare translation of the Hebrew canon, for it gives eight additional books, an additional book of Ezra, and considerable additions to Esther and Daniel; further, the several books after the Pentateuch are arranged in a different order.

It is very probable that the diversity between the two canons is to be explained by the gradual formation of the canon, together with the varied estimation in which the three sections of the canon were held. It would seem that the five books of the Law were first constituted into a sacred collection, that then the historical and prophetical writings were formed into an additional collection, and that lastly the several works which form the Hebrew Hagiographa were blended into one whole and placed side by side with the Law and the Prophets. Further, there is much reason for ascribing the first canon to Moses, the enlarged canon of Moses and the Prophets to the gradual accretions made by the prophetical schools to the Law, and the final arrangement of the canon to Ezra. Considerable interest in this connection attaches to a statement of the Talmud in the treatise *Babha-bathra* (only the ancient reading is given, the interruptions of the Gemara being omitted): "Our rabbis have taught: the classification of the Prophets — Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the

Twelve. . . . The classification of the Hagiographa—Ruth and the Psalms and Job and the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs and the Lamentations, Daniel and the roll of Esther, Ezra and the Chronicles. . . . And who has written them? Moses has written his book, the chapter of Balaam and Job; Joshua has written his book and the eight (final) verses of the Law; Samuel has written his book, Judges and Ruth; David has written the Psalms, assisted by ten elders, assisted by the first man, Melchisedec, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Yedouthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Qorah; Jeremiah has written his book, the book of Kings, and Lamentations; Hezekiah and his company have written Isaiah, the Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes; the men of the Great Synagogue have written Ezekiel and the Twelve, Daniel and the roll of Esther; Ezra has written his book, and the genealogy of the Chronicles." The ambiguity of the word "has written" will be noticed, sometimes standing as it does for "composing," and sometimes "editing." Nevertheless, the varying canonical authority attributed to the three sections must not be forgotten, for it is an important element in the case. In the Talmud the Law is regarded as having the highest authority, being supposed to have had an immediate divine origin, some rabbis attributing it to the very finger of God, and others preferring to say that God dictated the Law to Moses as to an amanuensis. The authority of the Prophets was of a similar but inferior order. "Moses saw as in a clear mirror, and the Prophets in an unclean glass," or as it was sometimes expressed, "Moses saw through one glass, and the Prophets through seven." "The individuality of a prophet," it is said in another place, "is more evident in his writings than in the books of Moses, and Isaiah gives one the impression of a courtier, and Ezekiel of a peasant, whilst the words of Jeremiah differ widely from those of Amos." A still inferior position characterized the Holy Writings, it was supposed. The prophetic books were written, it used to be said, by the *spirit of prophecy*, the holy writings were written by the *spirit of holiness*. All the evidence available goes to show that the Law was the most highly venerated part of the canon, that the Prophets occupied a slightly lower place, but

were read in the public services as well as the Law, but that the Writings came last, only the five "rolls" (*megilloth*), as they were called, being read, that is to say, the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, and these only on extraordinary occasions. Now it is possible that the enlargement of the Alexandrian canon was a consequence of this inferior position of the Hagiographa; what Esther and the Song of Songs were to the Hebrew Jew, the Wisdom of Solomon and Baruch were to the Greek Jew. A flexibility might be permissible in the canonical third section, which would not have been tolerated in the canonical Prophets, to say nothing of the Law, the supreme canon.

At the commencement of the Christian era, therefore, all the evidence goes to show that there was entire unanimity as to the canonical authority of the Law and of the Prophets (in the Hebrew sense of the term), and that there was also entire unanimity as to the canonical character of the Hagiographa, some Greek Jews adding certain other books to this section, inasmuch as this section was, from its subject-matter, not regarded as so distinctively revelation as the other sections. There is also very considerable reason to believe that the book of Daniel formed part of the Prophets, occupying the position it now occupies in the English arrangement of the Old Testament books.

The Christian canon of the Old Testament did not vary from the Jewish, the earliest catalogues, however, declaring for the Hebrew canon. It would appear that later the general use of the Septuagint, and of the Vulgate, which was translated from the Septuagint, caused some confusion as to the ancient difference drawn between the Hebrew and Greek canons. Jerome declared for the Hebrew canon; Augustine for the Greek. The canon of Augustine was adopted at the Council of Carthage—with a reservation as to some future decision to be taken—and was afterwards published in the Decretals. In fact, the question as to the acceptance of the Hebrew or Greek form of the Hagiographa remained an open question till the Council of Trent, which declared the enlarged canon to be deserving in all its parts of equal veneration. On the other hand, the Protestant Churches unanimously confirmed

the Hebrew canon, and refused to allow any authority to the additional books of the Greek canon.

Here another series of problems arises, viz. THE FORMATION AND ATTESTATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CANON. In this case also, as in that of the Old Testament, there is some obscurity about the stage of formation. Then the course of development varied. For a time some books of merely religious authority were accredited as part of the New Testament canon, whilst some canonical books were viewed with doubt. At last a perfect unanimity was reached by all Churches.

That complete canon resulted, it would seem, from the perfectly free action of the various Churches, who desired to preserve for their own satisfaction and the good of others books felt by them to be of inestimable value. No single Church drew up a canon which it strove to force upon all by decree or council, but by a perfectly natural process apparently (which doubtless shows a superior divine co-operation the more surely that it was associated with the free action of men) the larger Christian Churches, as the original preachers of the gospel passed away, set themselves to procure as perfect a set of the writings of these earliest preachers as possible, the evangelical spirit of their time giving them the surest available test of the value of any book which it seemed desirable to preserve. The formation of the canon is confessedly veiled in much darkness, but there is great reason to believe that the free communication from Church to Church of the several writings which had been entrusted to any one of them led in time to the formation of the canon. From all the evidence available it is just to infer that before the middle of the third century the books now called the New Testament were known in a collected form, and reverenced as the authoritative standard of faith and practice; and not only so, it is also inferrible from the voluminous evidence with equal justice that the books so collected were the same books possessed by us now. Both Origen and Eusebius, after careful inquiry, enumerate the same books as are recognised to-day as constituting the New Testament canon, though Eusebius points out that the canonicity of six, viz. the Epistles of James and Jude, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third Epistles

of John, and the Apocalypse, was doubted by a few persons.

Into the voluminous evidence as to the New Testament canon, including the ancient catalogues of the New Testament as a whole, and the patristic references to individual books of the New Testament, it is unnecessary to enter in this brief sketch. The history of the New Testament canon is divided into two epochs, the epoch of formation and the epoch of acceptance. The epoch of formation is divided into three periods, the first of which, extending from the date of the writing of Paul's first epistle to the time of Hegesippus, A.D. 170, is the period of the separate circulation and gradual collection of the New Testament writings; the second of which, reaching to the Diocletian persecution in 303, is characterized by the gradual separation, under the unanimous conviction of the Church, of the New Testament books from other religious literature, such as the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Epistle of Clement, and the Apocalypse of Peter, which were for a time admitted into the canon. At the Third Council of Carthage, 397, the present canon of the New Testament was formally and solemnly declared and ratified. The epoch of acceptance might be conveniently studied under two periods, from the Council of Carthage to the Reformation, and from the Reformation to the present day. Assaults have been made by individuals upon the canonical authority of a few New Testament books, but the canon of the New Testament is part of catholic truth, acknowledged by all creeds and all Churches.

The Bible, then, with which Biblical theology has to deal, is deserving of the closest study, as, to say the least, that standard of faith and practice which has been unanimously, or all but unanimously, received by the Christian Churches. It is true that this Biblical canon was recognised little by little at first, "like the formalizing of doctrine and the settling of ecclesiastical order," as Canon Westcott has well said; nevertheless that recognition was inevitable, though progressive, when once attention had been drawn to the question of an authoritative written standard. Let the additional books of the Greek Old Testament canon be considered side by side

with the Law or the Prophets, and unanimity of conclusion was certain when the convictions of men became clear and firm. Similarly, let the Epistle of Barnabas be compared with the Epistles of Paul, and decision as to the canonical superiority of the latter could not be long deferred, and once arrived at, would speedily become unanimous.

Thus, on purely external evidence, the evidence of its recognition as canonical in history, the Bible occupies an unique position, and he must be destitute of historic sense who does not see how important a scientific study of this book must be. A parallel to this recognition as canonical is to be found in no heathen religion. The canonical writings of Buddhism cannot be compared with the canonical writings of Christianity, whether we regard the universality, the intelligence, the caution, or the unfaltering acquiescence with which they have been received as canonical. There are certainly, as has been already said frankly and fully, other grounds upon which the Bible may be accepted as canonical, internal grounds as they are called, reasons for acceptance based on the contents themselves of Scripture. That the Scriptures are worthy to be standards of faith and practice from their intrinsic excellence, that they are worthy both in whole and in part to be such standards, that they are pre-eminently worthy to be such standards as compared with other religious canons, these three attributes, which they must of necessity display if they are to be the supreme standard of faith and practice, become increasingly clearer as the contents of the Bible are examined scientifically. Such an examination will call for remark, however, as has been said, when we enter upon that division of theology which we have called comparative, systematic, or doctrinal. Even now, however, on the purely matter-of-fact evidence which the history of the canon supplies, we see reason for regarding the Bible as at once an extraordinary book, and deserving of the most accurate and consecutive and painstaking study.

§ 34.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL CANONICS.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

STUART, MOSES, *Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon, with an Introduction and Notes, by Samuel Davidson,* Routledge, 1849, 12mo. [In the absence of a book level with present knowledge, still the best book on the Old Testament canon.]

WESTCOTT, BROOKE FOSS, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament,* 4th edit., with new preface, Macmillan, 1875, 12mo. [Excellent.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*[1]

(1.) *On the Canon in general.*

COSIN, JOHN, *Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture, or the Certain and Indubitate Books thereof, as they are received in the Church of England,* 1672. [After an introductory chapter, and a chapter devoted to the testimony of the ancient Jewish Church, the testimonies of Christian writers are given from the first century to the sixteenth, a century being examined in each chapter; still worth reading, especially as between the Protestant and Romish canon.]

GAUSSEN, L., *Le Canon des Saintes Ecritures au double point de vue de la Science et de la Foi,* 2 vols., Geneva 1860, translated under the title of *The Canon of the Holy Scriptures from the double point of view of Science and of Faith,* 3rd edit., Nisbet, 1863. [A good book, but ultra-conservative.]

[1] Most books on Biblical introduction touch upon this subject. See § 54.

DAVIDSON, SAMUEL, *The Canon of the Bible, its Formation, History, and Fluctuations,* 1st edit. 1877, 3rd edit. 1880, 12mo, Kegan Paul; comp. article "Canon" in 9th edit. of *Encyclopædia Britannica,* vol. v. [A good summary of the facts, but the inferences often doubtful.]

(2.) *On the Old Testament Canon.*

FUERST, JULIUS, *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments nach den Ueberlieferungen in Talmud und Midrasch, neue Untersuchungen über Namen, Eintheilung, Verfasser, Sammlung, Umfang und Religiösen Charakter der alttest. Schriften sowie über Geschichte des Kanon's bei Palästinischen und Hellenistischen Juden,* Leipsic 1868. [The best collection of Jewish testimonies.]

(3.) *On the New Testament Canon.*

LARDNER, NATHANIEL, *The Credibility of the Gospel History, or the Principal Facts of the New Testament confirmed by Passages of ancient Authors who were contemporary with our Saviour, or His Apostles, or lived near their time,* printed in the first four vols. of the edition of the works by Kippis, 1815, 4to. [Still a monument of erudition to which every solid student must look.]

KIRCHHOFER, J., *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des Neutest. Kanons bis auf Hieronymus,* Zurich 1844. [Carries on and rectifies the work of Lardner.]

CREDNER, C. A., *Geschichte des Neutest. Kanon, edited by Volkmar,* Berlin 1860. [A standard work, to be used, however, with caution.]

HILGENFELD, A., *Der Kanon und die Kritik des N. T. in ihrer geschichtlichen Ausbildung,* Leipsic 1863. [Tinctured with the peculiar bias of the author, but worth reading.]

REUSS, E., *Histoire du Canon des Ecritures Saintes,* Strasburg 1864, translated under the title, *History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church, translated from the second French edition, with the author's own cor-*

rections and revision, by David Hunter, Edinburgh 1884. [Not wholly reliable, but strong in its conception and portrayal of the historical growth of the canon.]

GRAU, R. F., *Entwicklungsgeschichte des Neutest. Schriftthums*, 2 vols., Gütersloh 1871.

CHARTERIS, A. H., *Canonicity, a Collection of Early Testimonies to the Canonical Books of the New Testament, based on Kirchhofer's "Quellensammlung,"* Blackwood, 1880. [Does for Kirchhofer what Kirchhofer did for Lardner.]

—— *The New Testament Scriptures, their Claims, History, and Authority, being the Croall Lectures for* 1882, Nisbet, 1882. [Presents in untechnical form the results of the preceding work.]

OVERBECK, FR., *Zur Geschichte des Canons*, Chemnitz 1880. [Two important essays, the one on the Canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the other on the Origin of the Canon.]

ZAHN, TH., *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutest. Kanon und der altkirchlichen Literatur*,—Part i. *Tatian's Diatessaron*, Part ii. *Der Evangeliencommentar des Theophilus von Antiochien*, Part iii. *Supplementum Clementinum*, Erlangen 1881–83–84. [Three important monographs on an early harmony of the Gospels, and some other early sources of the canon, bridging over the time from the apostles to Irenæus.]

SUBDIVISION II.: BIBLICAL TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

§ 35.

DEFINITION AND PROBLEM OF NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

HAVING first asked, in our examination of the Biblical sciences preparatory to exegesis, how the Bible came to be constituted, we now pass on to the question as to what is the genuine text of the Bible. From Biblical canonics we advance to Biblical textual criticism. This fascinating and important science we commence with New Testament Biblical criticism—for a very good reason; New Testament textual criticism has made a greater progress towards completeness than the science of the Old Testament text. Indeed, the high scientific form of the New Testament study is the ideal towards which the Old Testament branch must strive to attain.

The problem which the textual criticism of the New Testament has to attack is, from all the materials attainable, to ascertain as nearly as possible the original text of the Gospels and the other apostolic writings—in other words, to eliminate by all possible means the errors due to the human instruments by which the sacred text has been transmitted. The materials available for forming a critical judgment upon the text of the New Testament are divisible into two great classes, namely, the various printed editions of the New Testament and the various extant manuscripts. Of these written materials, again, there are several classes, viz., first, the various manuscripts of part or of the whole of the New Testament, of which about two thousand of various ages are known to exist, many of these, however, being of small fragments; secondly, the several versions of the New Testament, some of great age, which resulted from the translation of the

original Greek text into other languages; and thirdly, the quotations from the New Testament to be found in ancient Christian writers, some of whose works were written earlier than the oldest known manuscript, and many of whose writings were contemporary with some of the most highly prized codices.

Given then the innumerable printed copies of the New Testament and the hundreds of written copies, together with the several translations and the multitudinous excerpts, the problem is to reproduce as far as possible the text of the apostolic autographs. How is this problem to be resolved?

Taking up any copy of the Greek Testament in common use,—for every English translation is confessedly based upon the Greek text,—dealing, let us say for convenience' sake, with a copy of the Greek text of the Authorized Version, it is evident that this Greek text can have no further authority than that of the manuscript or manuscripts from which it was printed, although two other factors also enter, that is to say, the critical tact of the editor, and the practical skill of the printer. A similar remark may be made concerning all printed editions, their value ultimately depending upon the value of the manuscripts from which they have been compiled. For the formation of any critical judgment of these printed editions we are thrown back upon the written sources.

Turning therefore to the ancient manuscripts of the New Testament which are available for a critical judgment upon the sacred text, it is manifest that our first task must be to examine into the critical value of the several manuscripts, whether in Greek or in other languages, whether of actual portions of the Greek Testament or of verses quoted in early writers. Three principal points rise for decision—first, as to the originality of a manuscript; secondly, as to its age; and thirdly, as to its general character. For example, in reference to the first point, should a manuscript simply be a more or less accurate copy of another, it can have no more value than its pattern, and in this case two would not be better than one. Further, as to the second point, other things being equal, authority increases with age. And yet further, as to the

third point, the general character of a manuscript for correctness or faultiness, for bias or judgment, for scrupulous exactitude or for critical ambition, must necessarily enter into our estimate of its worth, just as a general repute for goodness and honesty enters into our estimate of the acts of an individual man. It is true that the determination of these points of age, originality, and character is by no means easy; nevertheless they must be settled with some accuracy before the problem of textual criticism is in any satisfactory degree solved. The method of determination is evident. Originality is to be tested by a careful comparison of manuscripts, one important element in decision being the frequency or infrequency of manifest blunders, and another being evident bias. Age is to be ascertained by a knowledge of the history of the manuscript, and by the well-established principles of palæography. As for the general character of a manuscript, it can only be known after the close and repeated examinations of experts, familiar with the principles, facts, and details of textual criticism.

By the pursuance of these several lines of inquiry, a decision upon the several points involved becomes possible. The proven principles of palæography especially have given a large leverage in dealing with the numerous manuscripts available. By this means the score of hundreds of codices already known to exist may be classified almost according to the centuries in which they were written. One leading division at least, of primary importance, has been introduced by palæographical researches, viz., the division of manuscripts into uncial and cursive, the uncials being all written in capital letters without juncture, according to the mode of writing current until the beginning of the tenth century, the cursives being written in a running hand with the several letters conjoined to form words, the style of writing which obtained from the tenth century onwards. But the principles of palæography have not merely given this primary and important division, but they also, as has been said, render it possible to apportion to their several centuries the manuscripts written during their course.

By the united evidence as to originality, age, and general

character, evidence daily becoming more voluminous and accurate, a long series of scholars have reared a science which is one of the monuments of recent research. Libraries in the East and in the West have been ransacked for ancient Testaments and Fathers, codices of many kinds and values have been carefully collated, splendid, if unsatisfactory, attempts have been made to build up a trustworthy and critical text, and at least it may be said, that a great and almost exhaustive collection of materials has been made, the way being thus prepared for solving the important problem completely.

The science of the textual criticism of the New Testament—often called more briefly but not so accurately New Testament criticism—is, then, the science which endeavours to recover the actual text in which the New Testament was written.

§ 36.

NECESSITY FOR A SCIENCE OF NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

THE textual criticism of the New Testament is, then, specially directed to the discovery of the actual words of those holy men who wrote its inspired Gospels and Epistles. How indispensable a preliminary to any exact study of the New Testament such a science is, a few words will soon render plain.

A moment's thought makes it evident that the so-called Authorized or Revised Version of the Bible, the Scriptures that is to say as they are printed by the Bible Society or the University presses, is not the original Bible, but a more or less perfect transcript. Though characterized by great exactness, the Bibles of our households are confessedly printed copies of a translation made in the sixteenth century from Hebrew and Greek manuscripts extant at that time, and made with the assistance of several translations which had been previously executed. It is unquestionable that these Hebrew originals were copies of an Old Testament text (itself resulting from the critical investigations of a long series of Jewish scholars, which extended from the third to the tenth centuries), and that these Greek originals were copies, possibly copies of copies, or even copies many times removed, of manuscripts transcribed in the third or fourth centuries. A vital question therefore arises, as to whether our present Bibles are not liable to error, not as translations only, but as transcripts. The question is a question of fact. Whether the Greek and Hebrew texts employed by the translators of the English Bible were accurate representatives of the actual autographs of the prophets and apostles, is just a matter of fact. Certainly, had the great Revealer seen fit, He might

have preserved to us the identical sheets of papyrus or skins of parchment which passed beneath the styles of the holy men of old who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Spirit, just as by a continuous miracle, on the destruction of the original writings, He might have scrupulously preserved every scribe from error in copying or every compositor from error in printing. But the question is not one of divine ability, but of divine purpose. As a matter of fact, have the autographs of the apostles and prophets been handed down to our times? The reply must be in the negative. As a matter of fact, the great Giver of Truth has not been careful to preserve all past, present, and future copies of the Holy Scriptures from any and every admixture of error, as innumerable variations testify. The scribe was no more gifted with infallibility in the past than the printer in the present. At all times the amount of error in the multiplication of the Scriptures has been proportionate to the lack of skill and care of the agents employed. Such is the testimony of facts. A careless scribe has often written a Greek Sigma for a Greek Omicron, from their similarity in ancient character; and a nodding scribe has often left out a line when two successive lines have begun with the same word, as copyists have done in all times; and a punctilious scribe has often corrected a word or a passage to make it square with his own critical notions, another habit of copyists which it is to be feared is very human. So translations differ from originals because of mistakes in transcription as well as in interpretation, printed translations differ from printed translations, printed originals differ from printed originals, and the numerous manuscript copies extant of the Old and New Testaments not merely differ from the printed texts, but from each other. Manifestly it is the divine Will that the Bible, having been transmitted to us by the common channels of literary diffusion, should be purified from foreign admixtures gained in transit by the common methods of literary criticism. Hence the necessity of so-called textual criticism, or the critical determination of the most probably correct text of the Old and New Testaments.

Let it be distinctly and at once stated, however, that the

larger the number of manuscripts of any author extant, in spite of the fact that the number of various readings is multiplied, the greater is our knowledge of the actual words written. The seeming paradox was admirably put by the great classical scholar, Bentley, in the thirty-second section of his *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Free-thinking in a Letter to F. H., D.D., by Philoleutherus Lipsiensis.* Dr. Whitby had taunted Mill, the editor of a critical edition of the New Testament, with "proving" by his thousands of various readings "the text of Scripture precarious," and Dr Bentley pungently replied:—"The 30,000 various lections are allowed, then, and confessed; and if more copies yet are collated, the sum will mount still higher. And what's the inference from this? Why, one Gregory, here quoted, infers that no profane author whatever has suffered so much by the hand of time as the New Testament has done." . . . . Bentley then stated the case as follows:—"If there had been but one manuscript of the Greek Testament at the restoration of learning, about two centuries ago, then we had had no various readings at all. And would the text be in a better position then, than now we have 30,000? So far from that, that in the best single copy extant we should have had some hundreds of faults, and some omissions irreparable. Besides that, the suspicion of fraud and foul play would have been increased immensely. It is good, therefore, you'll allow, to have more anchors than one; and another manuscript to join with the first would give more authority, as well as security. Now, choose that second where you will, there shall still be a thousand variations from the first, and yet half or more of the faults shall still remain in them both. A third, therefore, and so a fourth, and still on, are desirable, that by a joint and mutual help all the faults may be mended; some copy preserving the true reading in one place and some in another. And yet the more copies you call to your assistance, the more do the various readings multiply upon you; every copy having its peculiar slips, though in a principal passage or two it do singular service. And this is fact, not only in the New Testament, but in all ancient books whatever." . . . . . And Bentley illustrated this conclusion in this way: "In profane authors, whereof

one manuscript only had the luck to be preserved, ... the faults of the scribes are found so numerous, and the defects are so beyond all redress, that, notwithstanding the pains of the learnedest and acutest critics for two whole centuries, these books still are, and are like to continue, a mere heap of errors. On the contrary, where the copies of any author are numerous, though the various readings always increase in proportion, there the text, by an accurate collation of them made by skilful and judicious hands, is ever the more correct, and comes nearer to the true words of the author." . . . . . Hence Bentley concludes:—"The New Testament has suffered less injury by the hand of time than any profane author. . . . . Not frighted, therefore, with the present 30,000, I, for my part, and (as I believe) many others, would not lament, if out of the old manuscripts yet untouched 10,000 more were faithfully collected, some of which without question would render the text more beautiful, just, and exact, though of no consequence to the main of religion; nay, perhaps wholly synonymous in the view of common readers, and quite insensible in any modern version." The more numerous the various readings, the more certain the text, in short, when once the principles of textual criticism have been drawn up.

Indeed, the careful prosecution of the science of textual criticism has had a very positive result. It has accentuated the reliableness of the common text for all practical purposes. Before the science was framed, doubt might have been thrown upon the general accuracy of the New Testament texts; now such doubt is impossible. Thousands of various readings have been collated, but it is most remarkable and reassuring how slightly these various readings affect the substance of the New Testament. A classification of the lapses which are found in the manuscripts and printed copies of the New Testament will make this practical accuracy clear, at the same time that it renders the necessity of a science of textual criticism the more tangible. Scribes and compositors are naturally liable, whether consciously or unintentionally to add to their copy, to leave part of their copy out, or even to alter their copy. All these classes of error are seen in the New

Testament, where, on comparing one exemplar with another, we find various substitutions, and various additions, and various omissions. There are, it is found, in the sacred pages unconscious errors arising from the failure of sight, or of hearing, or of memory; there are conscious errors arising from the incorporation of marginal glosses, from corrections of harsh or unusual forms of words or expressions, from alterations of the text to produce supposed harmony with another passage, whether to complete a quotation or to clear up a presumed difficulty, from insertions for liturgical objects, and even from alterations expressly made for dogmatic reasons. Thus, in the copies of the New Testament, as in copies of profane writers, imperfections are found of various kinds, due to some imperfections in the originals copied, such as illegibility; there are also those imperfections which result from the accidental mistakes of the transcribers; there are even those which arise from deliberate alteration for critical, æsthetical, or religious reasons. Let us turn to actual examples. A very complete and suggestive classification of the varieties of error to be met with in manuscripts and versions of the New Testament is given by Prebendary Scrivener, in his excellent work to be named presently. He arranges the various readings of all kinds under the following heads. A brief summary of his remarks, with some additional illustrations, will give peculiar point to the need for a science of textual criticism.

First, beginning with variations of the gravest kind, there are considerable doubts as to the authenticity of only two passages of any length, viz. the closing verses of Mark's Gospel (Mark xvi. 9–20) and the story in John of the woman taken in adultery (John vii. 53–viii. 11).

Secondly, akin to these omissions, there are a few interpolations; for example, the celebrated Codex Bezæ, now at Cambridge, inserts after Luke vi. 4 the interesting paragraph: "On the same day He beheld a certain man working on the Sabbath, and said unto him, Man, blessed art thou if thou knowest what thou doest; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law."

Thirdly, marginal notes have sometimes been adopted into

the text, as in the famous instance, as it is believed, of the curious passage concerning the three witnesses, which, after having long been the great battle-ground of opposing critics, is now commonly rejected as spurious, being omitted from the Revised Version (1 John v. 7).

Fourthly, some clauses have evidently been lost, by what is technically called Homoioteleuton, or similarity of ending,—the common transcriber's fault, where a clause ending with the same word or words as the preceding sentence, the eye of the copyist has wandered from the one ending to the other, to the omission of the entire passage lying between. For example, in John ii. 23, *ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει* is omitted in many manuscripts, because the last three words had ended the preceding clause. Many omissions are due to this well-known failing of copyists.

Fifthly, numerous variations occur in the order of words, the sense being slightly or not at all affected. Examples of this occur in every page. Thus we read in Acts, *ὀνόματι Ανανίαν* or *Ανανίαν ὀνομάτι*, and we read in Rev. iii. 15, *ψυχρὸς οὔτε ζεστὸς* or *ζεστὸς οὔτε ψυχρός*.

Sixthly, we find the mistaken substitution of words similar in appearance, an error peculiarly consequent upon the uncial mode of writing; thus, in Mark xiv. 65, some manuscripts read *ΕΔΑΒΟΝ* and some *ΕΒΑΔΟΝ*, and in Mark v. 14 some have *ΑΝΗΓΓΕΙΔΑΝ* and some *ΑΠΗΓΓΕΙΔΑΝ*.

Seventhly, there are sometimes mistaken substitutions of words similar in sound, evidently arising from the penman misspelling because misunderstanding some word dictated to him; for example, in Phil. i. 30 *ἴδετε* and *εἴδετε*, and in Matt. xi. 6 *ἑταίροις* and *ἑτέροις* are found. This kind of blunder is technically called "itacism," the principal interchanges in the most ancient manuscripts being *ι* and *ει*, *αι* and *ε*, and in later times, *η*, *ι*, and *ει*,—*η*, *οι*, and *υ*,—*ο* and *ω*,—*η* and *ε*.

Eighthly, there are certain insertions met with which were evidently made for the convenience of worship, introductory clauses and proper names being interpolated at the commencement of lessons in Scripture. These liturgical additions are

frequent, as when in Luke vii. 31, *εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος* is inserted. There are many parallels in the Book of Common Prayer.

Ninthly, some changes of text manifestly arise from deliberate assimilation to parallel passages in the New Testament; for example, *εἰς μετάνοιαν* is interpolated into Matt. ix. 13 from the passage in Luke v. 32.

Tenthly, passages are also assimilated to the Old Testament, transcribers correcting from reference what the authors had written from memory.

Eleventhly, by a curious but not unparalleled operation of mind, synonymous words are occasionally interchanged, as when in the Codex Bezæ, *ὀμμάτων* is put for *ὀφθαλμῶν* in Matt. ix. 29. In Matt. xxii. 37 *ἔφη* is to be preferred to *εἶπεν*.

Twelfthly, harsh or inaccurate or obscure constructions have sometimes been amended, one of the commonest grounds for change in the copies of the Apocalypse.

Thirteenthly, spelling is frequently modernized. Thus *Καφαρναούμ* is put for *Καπερναούμ*, *τέσσερες* for *τέσσαρες*, *ἤλθαμεν* for *ἔλθομεν*.

Fourteenthly, trifling variations in spelling are innumerable, as when *καὶ ἐγώ* appears as *κἀγώ*, and *ἐὰν* as *ἄν*.

Fifteenthly, omissions and insertions of unimportant words, such as pronouns and particles, are very frequently met with.

Sixteenthly, great variations occur in the insertion or omission of the Greek article, a peculiarity which is not always unimportant.

Seventeenthly, some various readings are due to the peculiarities of the ancient style of writing. Some prominent examples out of many are the following:—In Acts xvii. 26 *ΠΡΟΣΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΡΟΥΣ* may be two words or three. Then there is the much disputed passage as to *ος* or *θεος* in 1 Tim. iii. 16, due to the abbreviated writing of *θεος*, the question being whether the reading is *ΟΣ* or *ΘΣ*. Or there is the singular reading in Rom. xii. 11, "serving the time," where the true reading *Κυριῷ* was first abbreviated into $\overline{KP}\omega$, and then read *καιρῷ*.

Eighteenthly, very naturally many variations are mere slips of the pen.

Nineteenthly, some various readings are manifestly critical corrections, as when in Rom. v. 1, some copies read ἔχωμεν for ἔχομεν.

Twentiethly, some various readings are also evidently due to corrections because of doctrinal difficulties. For example, some manuscripts read the difficult question in Matt. xix. 17, *Τὶ με λέγεις ἀγαθόν,—Τὶ μὲ ἐρωτᾶς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.* To the same cause apparently the two readings in John i. 18 are due, *μονογενὴς υἱός* or *μονογενὴς θεός*. The history of the early heresies shows the manipulation of the text of Scripture because of doctrinal prepossessions.

Such being the state of the case, the need for such a science is made out. All praise to the devoted men, who, like Tregelles and Scrivener, even to the endangering of eyesight, have supplied such abundant materials for judgment that a working certainty as to the absolute accuracy of nineteen-twentieths of the New Testament is possible to all, whilst as to the remaining twentieth the relative unimportance of very large portions of the differences has been demonstrated. Large thanks are assuredly due to the long line of scholars who have so clearly shown that the variations found in the New Testament text, very numerous though they be, are rather of scientific than practical interest. Such a conclusion throws peculiar emphasis upon the historical course of this New Testament science, to which we proceed.

§ 37.

HISTORY OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

TWO great epochs mark the course of the critical study of the Greek Testament text, the one of which was closed by the publication of the so-called *Textus Receptus*, and the other by the publication of the Greek text of the Revised Version. A third epoch, of emancipation from the authority of a few early uncials, seems to be just beginning.

I. The "Received Text" itself was the final phase in a noteworthy history, characterized by the appearance of the Complutensian Polyglot, the several editions of Erasmus, and the editions of Stephens, Beza, and the Elzevirs.

The Complutensian Polyglot was the first printed, although it was not the first published edition of the Greek New Testament, the volume in which the New Testament in Greek and Latin was contained having been completed on the 10th of January 1514, but for various reasons not having been published until 1522. This beautifully printed edition was undertaken under the auspices of the celebrated Spanish cardinal, Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo. It received its name from Complutum, the Latin name of Alcala, where it was printed. The responsible editor of the New Testament section was Lopez de Stunica. As far as investigation has gone, the text seems to have been formed from cursive manuscripts alone, the Greek text having been accommodated here and there to the text of the Latin Vulgate. The esteem indeed in which the Vulgate was held may be judged from the fact that, when in the Old Testament sections of the polyglot the Vulgate version occupies the middle place, being flanked right and left by the Hebrew and the Septuagint, the editors have some curious remarks about the similarity to the crucifixion of Christ between two thieves.

The first published edition of the Greek New Testament was the first edition of Erasmus, which, having been printed in six months, was issued in 1516. The manuscripts which Erasmus used for this edition are still for the most part preserved at Basle. None of them were of early date. Only one mutilated manuscript was employed for the Revelation, gaps in the text being supplied by retranslation into Greek from the Latin of the Vulgate. In some other places also the difficulties presented by the several manuscripts employed were adjusted on the testimony of the Vulgate. This first printed edition of the Greek text, hurriedly issued that it might forestall the Complutensian, naturally excited the attention, both laudatory and antagonistic, of scholars and theologians. A second and amended edition was published in 1519, alterations (some of which were mere errata) having been made to the number of 400, Mill calculated. Yet a third edition appeared in 1522, with 118 additional emendations, says Mill. A fourth edition was issued in 1527, containing 90 emendations in the Revelation alone adopted from the Complutensian, and with only ten alterations in the remaining New Testament books. A fifth edition, with only four changes, according to Mill, was published in 1535. It will be seen that this last edition of Erasmus became the basis of the *Textus Receptus.*

After printing two small editions, at Paris, of a text which blended the editions of the Complutensian and of Erasmus, Thomas Stephens issued his folio edition in 1550, also at Paris. This edition followed Erasmus almost exclusively, some emendations and marginal readings being supplied from the Complutensian, and from fifteen manuscripts, the only ancient one of which was the *Codex Bezæ*, or a good transcript. This issue had no division into verses. Soon afterwards Stephens published a further edition, at Geneva, with the same text as the earlier folio, and in this edition the division into modern verses appears. It is this text of Stephens' which forms our English *Textus Receptus.*

On the Continent, however, the *Textus Receptus* is a later edition of that of Stephens'. From 1565 to 1598 Theodore Beza published five editions, mostly following Stephens' text,

yet not infrequently mentioning various readings on the authority of several manuscripts which Beza consulted, the more valuable of which were the *Codex Bezæ* of the Gospels and the Acts, and the *Codex Claromontanus* of the Epistles of Paul. In 1624 the Elzevirs, the famous Leyden printers, issued their handy edition, the text adopted being that of Stephens' folio, with a few changes introduced from Beza. In 1633 the Elzevirs published their second edition, which has become the *Textus Receptus* of the Continent. The name originated in a sentence from the preface:—"Textum, ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum."

Thus substantially, it is evident, the Received Text, as it has been called, is the last edition of Erasmus.

II. With the publication of the *Textus Receptus* a new era in the criticism of the New Testament text commenced, an era in which the *Textus Receptus* itself was to be submitted to close scrutiny, with a view to the discovery of a still more accurate text. The principal phases in the course of this renewed scrutiny are marked by the critical editions of Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort, and the Greek text of the Revised Version. It will be seen that the great work of this second epoch was really the collection of *materials* for criticism.

Several contributions to the data of New Testament textual criticism were made, it is true, before the edition of Mill. To these the briefest reference will suffice. Thus in the greatest of the polyglots, that of Walton, 1657, the readings of the early *Codex Alexandrinus* were placed at the foot of the *Textus Receptus*, which occupies the fifth volume, whilst a large collection of various readings collected from manuscripts of more or less value is given in the sixth volume. Other editions of the *Textus Receptus*, with various readings on the margin or at the foot of the page, were published by Curcellæus in 1658, and Bishop Fell, of Oxford, in 1675. At length, in 1707, appeared Dr. John Mill's Greek Testament, which became the forerunner of the more modern aspect of our science. Mill's plan was to reprint Stephens' text, inserting various readings in the margin, and prefixing to the whole historical,

descriptive, and critical prolegomena. "It appears," says Tregelles in his excellent *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, "as if Mill's earnest and anxious endeavour had been to bring together all the critical materials which were accessible, so that every aid might be presented to the Biblical student for forming a correct judgment as to the text of the Greek New Testament. He gathered together the various readings which had been previously noticed; he collated such Greek MSS. as were accessible to himself, and he procured collations of others to be made by his friends; and he first used the ancient versions in general and habitually, as well as the writings of the early fathers, as evidences of the ancient text." Thus it was Mill's honour to lead the way with sure tact and perseverance; but it required the labours of many minds through many years to elaborate his sketches into perfect charts. Thirty years of hard toil were spent by Mill upon his great work, and he died a fortnight after its completion. A second edition was called for in 1710, to which the editor added further readings from twelve additional manuscripts which he had collated.

After a short interval, during which some additions were made both to the data and the theory of our science by Bentley, of philological fame, and Bengel, the inimitable exegete, Wetstein published his Greek text in two folio volumes at Amsterdam in 1751 and 1752. The revised text elaborated by Wetstein is of little value. His great contribution to the study was his numerous careful collations of MSS., and his scholarly account of the various sources available for materials, his notes giving a complete *résumé* of all that was known up to his day. One aspect of Wetstein's method has left a very visible impress upon textual science. Wetstein distinguished the uncial MSS. which he employed by Roman letters, and the cursive MSS. by Arabic numerals, the notation recommencing in each of the four divisions of the New Testament which he adopted, viz. the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. This notation remains, with all its inconveniences, to this day.

The edition of Griesbach in 1775 was in the main a critical examination, according to principles laid down by

Griesbach, of the materials of Wetstein; although some additions were made from the personal investigations of the editor, especially amongst the Latin versions and the writings of Origen. However, Griesbach's principal contribution was to the theory of the science. To him is due the classification of the materials under three recensions, which he called the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Constantinopolitan, believing as he did that these three distinct texts could be traced back to Rome, and Alexandria, and Constantinople, a speculative theory loosely held by its author, which has given an undesirable trend to many later investigations. A second edition was published in 1796, very much amplified and improved, materials having increased, says Tregelles, cent per cent in the interval, notably because of the labours of Matthæi, Alter, Birch, Adler, and Moldenhauer amongst editors, and Hearne, Woide, Kipling, Montfaucon, and Knittel amongst collators of ancient manuscripts. The great critical canon of Griesbach was the united testimony of his several recensions. Griesbach's maturest opinions are given in his Manual Edition of 1805.

In 1830 and 1836 Scholz published his Greek Testament in two volumes, the principal value of which again lies in the list of manuscripts which is given. Scholz was at least an enthusiastic seeker after materials, and he ransacked the libraries of Europe with such success that his list of MSS., says Tregelles, "is nearly double in number that which had accompanied the edition of Griesbach." His work is still referred to for information as to where manuscripts, and especially cursives, are preserved.

A very few years after, in 1842, came the first volume of the larger edition of Lachmann. Eleven years previously Lachmann had published a small edition, in which, discarding the *Textus Receptus*, he expressed his desire to attain the *textus traditus* of the fourth century. In his later edition he pursued the same end, making some important contributions to the science. His, for example, was the first Greek text which aimed at presenting the text of the most ancient authorities. Yet again, he bestowed the most careful attention upon the several Latin translations of the Greek Testament;

and yet again, the question of the punctuation of the Greek text was carefully examined by him.

Such then were the critical labours which preceded the greatest textual critic of the epoch we are describing, Constantine Tischendorf, whose life-long toil has bequeathed a splendid inheritance to this age. His claims upon our gratitude follow upon the twofold results of his intellect and industry, viz., on the one hand, his splendid collations of the most ancient manuscripts, and on the other hand, his revised Greek texts, with their catalogues of authorities attached. The former branch of his work will always remain the finest evidence of his power. He searched for and examined manuscripts in France, Holland, England, and Italy; he even undertook journeys to the East, where he had the good fortune—sufficient fame in itself for one man—to discover the famous *Codex Sinaiticus*. His publications were very numerous, the most important naturally being his editions of ancient codices. Thus he collated and published, besides the monumental Sinaitic Codex, the valuable palimpsest known as the *Codex Ephraemi*, the precious *Codex Claromontanus* of the Pauline Epistles, and the long series of uncials, often mere fragments, contained in the ten quarto volumes of his *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, and in his *Anecdota Sacra et Profana*, to mention only the more prominent of his printed editions. Further, he collated all the uncials known in his time, which had not been adequately collated by others, embodying the results in his several editions of the printed texts of the New Testament. These editions of the New Testament extend from 1850 to 1872. The last and best was the well-known *Editio Octava Major*, in 2 vols., 1869–1872. There is little doubt that Tischendorf was unconsciously biassed in favour of the authorities he himself discovered, and this eighth edition follows the Sinaitic Codex most irrationally; nevertheless these two volumes are indispensable to the scientific student, because of the vast materials for judgment amassed. Cursives require another Tischendorf to examine them before they can be used with judgment, and versions and quotations call for much more continuous study; but as regards the great uncials, Tischendorf's work, especially as revised by the aid of Tregelles, scarcely calls for further collation. Hence it was

possible to say at his funeral, "Whoever in the future outstrips him will do it only on the road Tischendorf marked out; whoever overcomes him will do so only by the weapons he himself has furnished." The first part of the prolegomena to the eighth edition, edited from Tischendorf's papers, was issued in 1884.

Contemporary with Tischendorf was Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. He had not the honour of being a fortunate discoverer like Tischendorf, but he too did invaluable work, on the one hand by issuing a revised text of the New Testament with large citations of authorities, and on the other hand by laborious and scholarly collations of ancient manuscripts, some of which he published in separate form. Singularly enough, as Tischendorf shows a peculiar bias from his confidence in the Sinaitic MS., technically called ℵ, Tregelles displays as unmistakeable a bias towards the readings of another of the earliest manuscripts, the famous *Codex Vaticanus*, technically called B. It is this bias which makes the text of his Greek Testament, published at intervals from 1857–1872, unreliable. His life-work, however, like Tischendorf's, was the accumulation of materials. He, as well as Tischendorf, collated many of the principal uncials, thus affording the learned world the unspeakable advantage of two independent witnesses. In many cases the friendship which existed between Tischendorf and Tregelles enabled these two leaders in their craft, ultimately to come to unanimous opinions where at first their collations differed. Tischendorf died in December 1874, and Tregelles in April 1875, the latter having lost his sight in his trying labours.

Dean Alford, in his Greek Testament, deserving of honourable mention for its exegesis, also felt it necessary to form a new critical text, and to give therewith a digest of various readings. With one slight exception, viz. his collation of part of the esteemed Vatican Codex, technically called B, Alford obtained all his critical materials from others, especially from Tischendorf and Tregelles. All he desired to do was to form a critical text from the materials supplied by other investigators. Times, alas! were not ripe for such a text, for principles of criticism are just the great desiderata; and Alford also

errs by unwarrantable reliance on a few of the oldest uncials.

The last critical text published is that of Westcott and Hort, published in two duodecimo volumes, 1881, the former of which contained the revised text, and the latter the elaborate introduction explaining the critical principles, and a lengthy appendix containing critical notes on select readings. In this instance, also, the reader is referred to Tischendorf and Tregelles for the materials for criticism, the great aim being first to ascertain the principles upon which a true text should be formed, and second, to deduce the original text according to these principles. This text will always have a historical value, as being substantially the text on which the Revised Translation is based. In this text, however, a preponderant influence is also allowed to one ancient code. If Tischendorf inclines to make the Sinaitic (ℵ) the supreme arbiter, Westcott and Hort, like Tregelles, exalt unduly the great Vatican Code (B), especially when associated with ℵ. This reliance, alas! vitiates their entire conclusions. Nor does the fact that those conclusions are arrived at after most erudite and lengthy speculation increase their value. No conclusion whatever, however logical, can ever warrant exclusive reliance on any single manuscript, however ancient, to the ignoring of all the remaining evidence of versions and quotations of an equal or a greater age. Natural science has often been misled by plausible theories, which have explained some phenomena but not all, and it has never been long before nature, expelled by a fork, has reasserted its rights; so too the voluminous facts unexplained, —it is idle to regard them as frankly acknowledged in the theory of Westcott and Hort,—will ere long be too much for the theory. This critical text does not, any more than that of Griesbach, break the general character of this second epoch in the textual criticism of the New Testament. This epoch has not yet passed away in the publication of the logical inferences from the voluminous materials accumulated. Materials have been accumulated from which to form a judgment; the new epoch will come when the judgment is formed on sound and thorough principles.

III. With Westcott and Hort's edition the second epoch in

the history of the textual criticism of the New Testament it is to be hoped will come to an end. It has been the epoch of the collection of materials. As far as the materials are concerned, it has given us an accurate and complete knowledge of all the unical manuscripts available; it has also given us some knowledge of the numerous cursive manuscripts and of the patristic citations, although in these two spheres much remains to be done. At the same time, whilst many details of evidence have been skilfully worked out, and various broad theories of general procedure have been attempted, it cannot be said that satisfactory conclusions have been formed therefrom. Hasty partial generalizations we have had; solid inductive results have not been as yet attained. Some signs that the reaction against the narrowness introduced by Lachmann is commencing there certainly are. The somewhat exaggerated articles by Dean Burgon in the *Quarterly Review*, now published in a separate volume, mark the returning tide. Still more certainly does the accurate scholarship of everything written by Prebendary Scrivener, the most erudite and capable textual critic of the day, point in the same direction. Nor should the very remarkable lectures given in Paris by Abbé Martin to the Higher School of Theology be forgotten, representing as they do a very high scholarship, together with a strong reactionary force. The great need of the time is the examination of the accumulated materials by a philosophic mind. There is plenty of room for the naturalist's study of facts, new and old, but there is greater room still for the man who can add broad and philosophic survey to the faculty of the specialist.

§ 38.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE STUDY OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.[1]

I. *For Introductory Study.*

SCRIVENER, F. H. A., *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament for the Use of Biblical Students,* 3rd edit., thoroughly revised, enlarged, and brought down to the present date, 1883; 1st edit. 1861. [Presents the best scholarship of the time; it is better to study so complete a book partially than to turn to inferior works.]

HAMMOND, C. E., *Outlines of Textual Criticism, applied to the New Testament,* 12mo, 1st edit. 1872, 2nd edit. 1878. [A much smaller work, but useful.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Palæography, or the Study of the Writing of the New Testament as Writing.*

MONTFAUCON, BERNARD DE, *Palæographia Græca,* fol., Paris 1708. [It founded the science, and although some of its conclusions are faulty and its materials scant as compared with modern times, it is still a useful manual of its subject.]

SILVESTRE, E., *Paléographie Universelle,* 1839, 4 vols. fol. [The second volume has numerous facsimiles of Greek and Latin facsimiles made by hand, perhaps too artistically.]

WATTENBACH, W., *Anleitung zur Griechischen Paläographie,* Leipsic 1867, 4to, 12 plates in fol., 2nd edit. 1877.

[1] It has not been felt necessary to insert the names of the best editions, whether of codices, versions, or fathers. Those who require such knowledge will find it in Scrivener's *Introduction,* and in books there indicated.

WATTENBACH, W., *Anleitung zur Lateinischen Paläographie*, 4to, 1st edit. 1869, 3rd edit. 1878.

—— *Das Schriftwesen des Mittelalters*, 1871.

—— *Schrifttafeln zur Geschichte der Griech. Schrift und zum Studium der griech. Paläographie*, 2 parts, folio, with 40 plates.

—— *Exempla Codicum Latinorum Litteris Majusculis Scriptorum*, Heidelberg 1876–79.

—— *Exempla Codicum Græcorum Litteris Minusculis Scriptorum*, Heidelberg 1878–79.

—— *Scripturæ Græcæ Specimina*, 1883.

[All books representing eminent service.]

PALÆOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, THE, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions, edited by E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson*, folio, first series in 3 vols. 1873–1883. [A splendid series of photographic facsimiles, two hundred and sixty in number, *covering a period of more than two thousand years.* Very many are characteristic codes of the New Testament, and many more bear on the palæography of the New Testament. A second series is just beginning.]

GARDTHAUSEN, V., *Griechische Palæographie*, Leipsic 1879. [An admirable manual, dealing with the history and literature, as well as with all that is known of the materials used and the characteristics of writing in all ages, careful lists being given of known writers, of dated manuscripts, of abbreviations of the more important catalogues extant of Greek manuscripts, of interpretative chronological tables, and elaborate tables being appended of the forms of letters in all the typical manuscripts from the earliest times.]

Encyclopædia Britannica, edit. ix. vol. xviii. 1885, 4to, contains a useful article on palæography by E. M. Thompson, one of the editors of the issues of the Palæographical Society.

(2.) *Textual Criticism.*

TREGELLES, S. P., *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with remarks on its Revision upon*

Critical Principles, together with a Collation of the Critical Texts of Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, with that in common use, Bagster, 1854. [Examines the various editions from the Complutensian downwards, remarks on the principles of textual criticism, and adds some full notes on several important passages.]

TREGELLES, S. P., *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, by T. H. Horne,* the fourth volume of the twelfth edition of which, 1869, contains an *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,* written by Tregelles. [A very complete and admirable statement, covering the whole ground of the subject, and illustrated by a few facsimiles.]

DAVIDSON, SAMUEL, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, exhibiting a Systematic View of that Science,* new edition 1854. [Really a treatise upon the textual criticism of both the Old and New Testaments, each being elaborately considered in a separate part; very valuable as to all matters up to the date of its publication.]

TISCHENDORF, C., *Novum Testamentum Græce, ad antiquissimos testes denuo recensuit, Apparatum Criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit, Commentationem Isagogicam prætextuit C. Tischendorf, editio octava critica major,* 2 vols., Leipsic 1869–1872. [Indispensable.]

——— and C. R. GREGORY, vol. iii., Prolegomena, Pars Prior, Leipsic 1884. [A first instalment of the long-promised prolegomena to the 8th edition, containing very much new matter by Dr. Gregory, and constituting on the whole another good guide to the entire data of the science.]

BURGON, J. W., *The Last Twelve Verses of the Gospel according to S. Mark, vindicated against Recent Critical Objectors and established,* Parker, 1871. [A practical application of the principles of the science well worth studying.]

——— *The Revision Revised, Three Articles reprinted from the "Quarterly Review:" I. The Greek Text; II. The New English Version; III. Westcott and Hort's New Textual Theory; to which is added a Reply to Bishop Ellicott's Pamphlet in defence of the Revisers and their Greek Text*

of the New Testament, including a Vindication of the Traditional Reading of 1 *Tim. iii.* 16, Murray, 1883. [Another practical application deserving of study, in spite of its manifest exaggeration.]

GARDINER, F., *The Principles of Textual Criticism*, with a list of all the known Greek uncials, and a table representing graphically the parts of the text of the New Testament contained in each, Andover 1876. [A brief introduction, of 64 pages, to the science; useful for its tables.]

BIRKS, T. R., *Essay on the Right Estimation of Manuscript Evidence in the Text of the New Testament*, Macmillan, 1878. [A plea for rebellion against the exclusive use of a few early MSS.]

NEWTH, SAMUEL, *Lectures on Bible Revision, with an Appendix containing the prefaces to the chief historical editions of the English Bible*, 12mo, Hodder & Stoughton, 1881. [A useful guide in comparing the claims of the Authorized and Revised Versions of the New Testament.]

MARTIN, ABBÉ J. P. P., *Introduction à la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament, Leçons professées en* 1882–83, Paris, 4to, 1883, Partie Théorique. [Lithographed lectures on the critical apparatus available, with many photographed facsimiles; Martin is an apt pupil of Scrivener's.]

—— *Partie Pratique*, 2 vols., 1883–84, Paris, 4to. [Lithographed lectures, examining the two problems, first, what is the value of the recensions contained in the MSS., ℵ, A, B, C, D, and second, what is the origin of the recension, and also examining at length the authenticity of Mark xvi. 9–20; a profoundly interesting practical examination.]

—— *Supplement aux Leçons sur la Critique Textuelle du Nouveau Testament, professées en* 1882–85,—*Description Technique des Manuscrits grecs relatif au Nouveau Testament, conservés dans les Bibliothèques de Paris.* [Careful examination, with many facsimiles, of all MSS. available in Paris, amongst which is an uncollated uncial now called Codex Martinianus.]

SCHAFF, PHILIP, *Companion to the Greek Testament and the English Version*, with facsimile illustrations of MSS., and standard editions of the New Testament, New York 1883. [An admirable book, treating (1) briefly of the language of the New Testament; (2) of the text, where an accurate and succinct account is given of the sources of the New Testament text extant; and (3) of the Authorized and Revised Versions, in which we have an authoritative history of the latter from the standpoint of an American reviser.]

§ 39.

NECESSITY FOR A SCIENCE OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

AFTER the outline of New Testament textual criticism contained in the preceding sections, the branch of criticism which has earliest attained to anything like precision, the examination of the Old Testament science may be considerably abbreviated. The same causes have been at work, giving rise in the course of time to a multitude of various readings of the Old Testament text. Thus, as Kennicott, the greatest authority on this subject, has said, "All various readings . . . must be made either by omission, addition, transposition, or change; and these four different species of variation, or either of them, can be owing only to one of these two general causes—chance or design." Almost identical words have been used of the New Testament, and it would be perfectly easy to illustrate them from the Old Testament by as lengthy a classification of variations as was previously given.

Some have maintained, it is true, with singular temerity, that the text of the Old Testament has been preserved to us from the days of Moses and the Prophets without any change whatever. Wolf could write in his learned *Bibliotheca*, "We do not think that any lapse or corruption of the Hebrew letters or vowels (*sic*) has been introduced into the Old Testament;" and the Helvetic Confession made the subscription binding upon its ministers and professors that there is no error in the present pointed Hebrew text. A vehement dispute which arose upon the subject of this unchanged text about the middle of the seventeenth century, set the question of fact at rest for ever; and Carpzov, who would fain cleave to the infallibility of the Hebrew text, acknowledged that the

existing Hebrew manuscripts presented variations, but solved the difficulty by asserting that the true reading was certainly preserved in some manuscripts. What value these infallible readings were, if they had to be dug for and discovered, Carpzov did not say.

The question was at that time, as it must ever be, a question of fact, and as a matter of fact innumerable variations of text, of the Old Testament equally with the New, do exist. The evidence is irresistible. Kennicott has tabulated variations by the tens of thousands. It has not been the divine Will to preserve the Old Testament any more than the New from the errors incidental to all committal to writing. Let a very few of these instances of variation suffice. When in the catalogue of Judges given in 1 Sam. xii. 11, the Hebrew reads "Bedan," and the Septuagint, whose reading Paul follows in the well-known passage in the Hebrews, reads "Barak," they cannot both be right, and the data point to a slip of the pen. When, according to the Second Book of Kings (viii. 26), "Two and *twenty* years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign; and he reigned one year in Jerusalem," and when, according to the Second Book of the Chronicles (xxii. 2), "*Forty* and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign; and he reigned one year in Jerusalem;" again both cannot be correct, although they stand in the Hebrew text, and the readiest explanation is a slip of the pen in some time of the past. Again, in Joshua xxi. 36, 37, there is a clear case of omission due to homoioteleuton, for even the translators of the Authorized Version felt it necessary to insert, from the Septuagint and the other versions, these two verses about the four cities of Reuben, which are not found to-day in the Hebrew text. Another instance of omission from the same cause is probably seen in Judges xvi. 13, 14, where the consecution of the narrative in the Hebrew is peculiarly inconsequential, reading as follows: "And Delilah said unto Samson, Hitherto thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: tell me wherewith thou mightest be bound. And he said unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks of my head with the web. And she fastened it with the pin, and said unto him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he awaked

out of his sleep, and plucked away the pin of the beam and the web." Now compare the version from the Septuagint, which apparently inserts a verse absent from the extant Hebrew, thus avoiding the harshness of Samson's awaking from sleep before he has been put to sleep, "And Delilah said unto Samson, Hitherto thou hast mocked me, and told me lies: tell me wherewith thou mightest be bound. And he said unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks of my head with the web, *and fasten them with a pin to the wall, then shall I be weak and be as another man. And it came to pass when he slept, that Delilah took seven locks of his head, and wove them with a web,* and fastened them with a pin (into the wall), and said unto him, The Philistines be upon thee, Samson. And he awaked out of his sleep, and plucked away the pin of the beam and the web,"—certainly a much more natural narrative. Such instances might be largely extended, especially where numbers or names are concerned. The Old Testament texts are no more free from faults than the texts of the New Testament. There are even a few instances of deliberate alterations of text to serve the purposes of a party, as where, in Deut. xxvii. 4, the Hebrew reads "Ebal," and the Samaritan text reads "Gerizim;" or as where, in a few Hebrew manuscripts, "Manasseh" is written in Judges xviii. 30 instead of "Moses," to save the honour of the family of the latter. From these numerous variations of reading found in the various manuscripts and versions extant, a few instances of which have alone been given, arises the necessity of the science of Old Testament textual criticism.

§ 40.

PROBLEM OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

NOW the materials available for a critical judgment upon the text of the Old Testament are—(1) the various Hebrew manuscripts extant, of which singularly enough none attain to anything like so great an age as the older uncial copies of the New Testament, it being doubtful whether any written copy of the Old Testament known is of earlier date than the ninth century of the Christian era; (2) various Hebrew manuscripts, such as the famous code of Hillel, which have been lost, but which are partially extant in quotations; (3) there is that invaluable critical production of Jewish scholarship, the extant Jewish text, the so-called Masoretic text, of which more presently; (4) there is that monument of the far past, the Samaritan Pentateuch; (5) there are the several versions of the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, and the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, the Targums, and the Syriac and Latin versions; and (6) there are the quotations from the Old Testament to be found in Jewish writers, some of whom are of a much greater age than our extant manuscripts of the Biblical text.

From these several classes of materials (classified somewhat differently from the materials for New Testament criticism because of the nature of the evidence) the problem is,—to resuscitate as far as is possible the actual words written by Moses, the Prophets, and the other holy men of old, whose literary productions find a place in the Old Testament canon. In one important particular, be it noted, the problem is complicated, or, as some would say, simplified, by a fact which has no parallel in the course of the history of the New Testament text. At no time has there been a minute, protracted, and authoritative investigation into the text of the

New Testament made by the Christian leaders of all parties,—the text of the Revised Version is really no exception,—as was done by the Jews, to secure themselves against any possible intrusion of error into their sacred books. The Christian Church has never as such undertaken to draw up a Greek text of the New Testament which, by the use of all sorts of expedients, should remain for all time invariable, absolutely proof indeed against the possibility of variation. Such a course was adopted by the Jewish Church. The so-called Masorah was compiled, and has been accepted by the Jews since its compilation, as the authoritative text of the Old Testament, as so authoritative in fact that it is to be feared that all texts which have varied from this standard have been destroyed by time, if not deliberately. All current Hebrew Bibles are more or less accurate reprints of this Masoretic text.

Thus the problem of Old Testament criticism, as far as the sacred text is concerned, becomes twofold, FIRST, *to ascertain what was the Masoretic text*, and, SECONDLY, *to inquire how far that authoritative text represents the* ipsissima verba *of the Old Testament.* What progress has been made towards the solution of these problems, a brief survey of the history of this science will show.

§ 41.

HISTORY OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE history of the criticism of the text of the Old Testament divides itself into three stages—(1) the history of the formation of the Masorah, (2) the history of the printed editions of the Masorah, (3) the history of the attempts to adjudicate upon the critical value of the Masorah.

I. Masorah, meaning Tradition, is the technical term given to a long series of labours, the design of which was so to indicate the correct reading of the text as to preserve it against corruption. The vast arithmetical and linguistic results which are summarized under the name of Masorah were the work of certain Jewish critics, hence called "Masters of the Masorah," or, as they are more commonly named, "Masoretes." Who they were, and when and where their singular work was accomplished, are points involved in much uncertainty. It is clear, however, that they were a class of Jewish scholars who regarded it to be their special function to "put" by all means in their power "a hedge" around the accuracy of the sacred text. In their method they shrank from no toil. They have noted, for example, with respect to the consonants of the traditional Hebrew text, that there are thirty letters written larger than the others, that there are thirty which are written smaller, that there are four which are suspended over the line, and nine which are placed upside down. They have notified that in one case a final *mem* is found in the heart of a word, that in one instance an initial *mem* appears at the end, and that in one an initial *nun* closes a word. They have counted how often each letter occurs. They have reckoned the middle letter in each book of Scripture; they have even reckoned the number of times in which each of the five letters which have final forms occurs in its final and in its initial form. They have noted any

anomalies in the use of the vowel-points, accents, daghesh and mappiq. They have registered all cases of full or defective writing, the number of times in which certain words occur at the beginning or end of a verse, every instance of ambiguity of meaning, of unusual pointing, of anomalous writing, of exceptional grammar. From such details let the minuteness as well as the irksomeness of this self-appointed task of the Masoretes be inferred. Another curious feature about this labour of love is that the Masorah does not all occur in a single manuscript, but has to be gathered from many, some manuscripts containing what others omit, and the entire sacred tradition being only available upon a collation of many codes and books. Possibly the entire tradition has not been committed to writing, but of what has been written it is necessary to say that the notes, in very abbreviated forms, are to be found on the margins of many Biblical manuscripts and printed editions, where they have been placed at the will of the scribe, who inserted what he wished of his inherited lore. The Masorah is divided into the *Masorah Magna* and *Parva*, the former comprehending the entire body of critical remarks found on the margins, and the latter being compiled from the still more abbreviated remarks interspersed between the columns.

II. Naturally enough the Masorah regulated for many years the publication of the Old Testament, the results of study being visible in the increasingly accurate approximation to the conditions described in the Masorah. And it is interesting to notice how, on the invention of printing, forty years before the issue of the first printed Greek text, the Psalter was published in quarto form, and how, before a dozen years had expired, the entire Hebrew Bible was published in 1488 at Soncino. This first Hebrew Bible was manifestly printed, however, from a manuscript which varied considerably from the traditional text. Other editions therefore followed, *e.g.* to mention the more influential, the Brescian edition in 1494; the first edition of Bomberg in 1518; the Complutensian, published in 1522; Bomberg's second edition, edited by Rabbi Jacob ben Chajim, in 1526; the famous Antwerp Polyglot in 1572, the Hebrew text of which was reprinted in the famous

Paris Polyglot of 1641, as well as in Walton's great polyglot of 1657; and the edition of Athias in 1661. All of these editions were professedly corrected in accordance with the instructions of the Masorah. A third edition of the issue by Athias, the edition of 1667, with a preface by Leusden, was repeated in Van der Hoogt's elegant edition, and has become substantially the current Hebrew text of to-day.

III. The next step in the criticism of the Old Testament text was manifestly to endeavour to appraise the value of the Masoretic text itself. Critical labours of this kind were undertaken by both Jews and Christians before the middle of the seventeenth century. However, the father of Old Testament criticism in its modern sense was Ludovicus Cappellus or Louis Cappel, noted for having successfully demonstrated the late date of the Hebrew vowel-points, whose great work, erudite and laborious, published in 1650,[1] amongst much other valuable critical matter, gave a collection of various readings and errors which had crept into the text of the Bible. The same line of study was pursued with vigour in the scholarly Prolegomena to Walton's Polyglot; in the preface to the edition of the Hebrew Bible by Jablonsky, 1699; in the edition of the Hebrew Bible by J. H. Michaelis, 1720, where are given a collection of various readings and a collation of the best printed editions, together with a few Hebrew manuscripts; in the edition of C. H. Houbigant, 1753, who, to valuable prolegomena on the subject, added critical notes, correcting the text given, that of Van der Hoogt, by means of the Samaritan Pentateuch, a few Hebrew manuscripts, and the ancient versions, and added at the same time a new Latin version expressive of such a text as the critical emendations appeared to justify; in the so-called Mantuan Bible, published from 1742–1744, which contained a critical commentary by Norzi, a Mantuan Rabbi, who had carefully studied for his purpose the several editions and manuscripts of the Old Testament he could obtain, as well as various manuscripts of the Masorah, the Talmud and Jewish interpreters; and in a few minor contributions to critical

[1] The edition I have used belonged to Tregelles,—the second edition, edited by Vogel, and published in 3 vols. at Halle 1775–1786.

studies, which have been carefully catalogued by Kennicott, in his *Second Dissertation*, pp. 492–494. The bare mention of these several labourers and their works will suffice to introduce the great chief in this branch of study, Benjamin Kennicott.

Benjamin Kennicott, who stands in the front rank of the Biblical scholars Oxford has produced, devoted the best years of a laborious life to the study of the Old Testament text. In 1753, Kennicott published his first work on *The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered.* This was a dissertation in two parts, the first of which compared 1 Chron. xi. with 2 Sam. v. and xxiii., and the second part of which contained observations on seventy Hebrew manuscripts, with an abstract of mistakes and various readings. The aim throughout was to establish the certainty of corruptions in the printed Hebrew text, and to point out some original readings which had become lost. Six years later Kennicott published his *Second Dissertation*, "wherein the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch is vindicated; the printed copies of the Chaldee Paraphrase are proved to be corrupted; the sentiments of the Jews on the Hebrew text are ascertained; an account is given of all the Hebrew manuscripts now known, and also a particular catalogue of a hundred and ten Hebrew manuscripts in Oxford, Cambridge, and the British Museum." The most important part of this dissertation was its fourth chapter, where a history of the Hebrew text is given from the close of the Hebrew canon to Christ, thence to the days of Jerome, thence to the conclusion of the Talmud, on to the days of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali about the year 1000 A.D., on again to the invention of printing, and on yet again to the date at which Kennicott wrote. Able, however, as these dissertations were, they were but "chips from the workshop," as were ten annual accounts of his collations of Hebrew manuscripts which appeared from 1760 to 1769. At length in 1776 and 1780 appeared Kennicott's *magnum opus*, in 2 vols. folio, his *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus.* To the second volume was appended a *Dissertatio Generalis*, in which an account is given of the manuscripts and other authorities

collated for the work, and a history of the Hebrew text from the time of Ezra. The text printed by Kennicott was Van der Hoogt's, with which all the manuscripts were collated. Variations in pointing being disregarded in the collations, the Hebrew points were not inserted even in the text. The various readings were printed at the bottom of the page, with references to the corresponding readings of the text. In the Pentateuch the variations of the Samaritan text were printed in a column parallel to the Hebrew, variations in this text offered by manuscripts being also printed beneath. The various readings given were derived from no less than 694 sources, identified by numerals; Nos. 1–88 representing Hebrew MSS. at Oxford; Nos. 89–144 representing Hebrew MSS. of Cambridge, London, Great Britain generally, and America; Nos. 145–254 representing Hebrew MSS. in other parts of Europe; Nos. 255–300 standing for various printed editions and a few additional MSS.; Nos. 301–649 designating other European MSS. examined by Professor Bruns, a coadjutor; and Nos. 650–694 utilizing some other MSS. and printed books not previously mentioned. The labour was enormous, and the two folios remain to-day a vast storehouse of materials for criticism. But they contain only materials, and materials now seen to be most ill-assorted. The monumental labours of Kennicott celebrate no solid advance towards the criticism of the Old Testament text itself. What he has done is to collate many written and printed sources with care, though not with the greatest care. Much more has to be done before the threshold of actual criticism can be crossed, as the history of the textual criticism of the New Testament clearly shows. Even the manuscripts, the location and general characteristics of which Kennicott has described, and the contents of which he has collated, must be closely interrogated by other investigators before they can be rendered really useful. All these 694 sources are not equally valuable. Which of these MSS. are original? what are their ages? what are their general characteristics? how many of them are copies, or copies of copies of Masoretic texts? how many of them go behind the Masoretic texts?—until questions like these are asked and answered, it is unscientific to treat these

manuscripts like so many independent and equally reliable witnesses. The very a, b, c of the textual criticism of the Old Testament has, in fact, to be formulated.

Before passing on to the modern phase of the history, a continuator of the labours of Kennicott calls for mention. De Rossi, the great Hebraist, published at Parma, from 1784–1788, four quarto volumes, entitled *Variæ Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, and described as "derived from an immense series of manuscripts and published codes," to which were added in 1798 an additional volume of *Scholia Critica*, or supplements to the various readings of the sacred text. These five volumes were an enlargement and emendation of Kennicott's work, containing collations of 731 additional manuscripts, and 300 additional printed editions. The work thus contained various readings collected out of 1346 MSS. and 352 editions, compared, be it noted, not throughout, but only in passages about which there was any question. De Rossi's prolegomena are also of considerable value, because of his intimate familiarity with Hebrew literature. In many places he has corrected errors of transcription made by Kennicott.

Very little has been done for the text of the Old Testament since De Rossi. Two rising German scholars seem, however, to be devoting themselves to this fascinating branch of study —Strack and Nestle; whilst Dr. Ginsburg is completing his splendid edition of the Masorah. Baer, too, is making rapid strides in his publication of the correct Masoretic text. The several versions are being made the subject of erudite monographs by scholars like Petermann, Harkavy, Frankel, Vercellone, and Lagarde. The next few years ought therefore to see considerable advance in this section of Biblical theology.

§ 42.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR THE STUDY OF THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

DAVIDSON, SAMUEL, *A Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, new edit., Longmans, 1854. [Gives a tolerable view, in its first part, of the Old Testament science, but requires bringing up to date. In the absence of a parallel work to Scrivener's, it is necessary to add under II. all the important additional monographs published of recent years, as well as the standard works in each section of the science.]

—— *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, revised from Critical Sources*, Bagster, 1855. [A good survey of the several passages where variations of any importance occur.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Textual Criticism of the Old Testament in general.*

KENNICOTT, B., *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis Lectionibus*, 2 vols. folio, Oxford 1776, 1780. [See preceding section.]

DE ROSSI, J., *Variæ Lectiones Vet. Test. ex immensa MSS. editorumque codicum congerie haustæ et ad samar. textum, ad vetustiss. versiones, ad accuratiores sacræ criticæ fontes ac leges examinatæ*, vols. i.–iv., 4to, Parma 1784–88; and *Scholia Critica in V. T. Libros seu Supplementa ad varias sacri textus lectiones*, Parma, 4to, 1798. [See preceding section.]

STRACK, H. L., *Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum quibus agitur* (1) *de codicibus et deperditis*

et adhuc exstantibus, (2) *de textu bibliorum hebraicorum qualis talmudistarum temporibus fuerit*, Leipsic 1873. [Packed full of matter concerning the codes lost and extant, and concerning the testimony of the Talmud to the Old Testament text.]

(2.) *Hebrew Manuscripts edited, and Hebrew Palæography.*

NOTE.—Lists of Hebrew MSS. will be found—in addition to those in Le Long, *Bibliotheca Sacra;* Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraica;* Kennicott and De Rossi—in the several publications of Steinschneider, viz. *Die Hebräischen Handschriften in München*, 1875; *Catalog der Hebräischen Handschriften in der Stadtbibliothek zu Hamburg*, 1878; *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, Band II. Verzeichniss der hebräischen Handschriften*, Berlin 1878, and his catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Bodleian. Strack has given an admirable section in his *Prolegomena Critica* to the mentioning of the various bibliographical works upon Hebrew MSS. issued by the various great libraries, to which the above catalogues should be added, as also should the *Catalogue of St. Petersburg MSS.* by Harkavy and Strack, published at St. Petersburg 1875.

LOEW, LEOPOLD, *Beiträge zur Jüdischen Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig 1870, etc. [The first volume deals with materials and products of writing among the Hebrews.]

GINSBURG, C. D., *The Moabite Stone, Facsimile of the Original Inscription, with an English Translation and a Historical and Critical Commentary*, 2nd edit. 4to, Reeves & Turner, 1871. [Gives the various translations of this important early inscription, and shows the importance of the Moabite stone historically, theologically, linguistically, and palæographically.]

MURALT, D. VON, *Urkündliche Beiträge zur Hebräischen Paläographie und zur Geschichte der Punktation und des Karäertums.* [Important article in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* for 1874 on the interesting St. Petersburg manuscripts discovered by Firkowitch.]

PALÆOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, *Oriental Series, Facsimiles of Manuscripts and Inscriptions*, 1875–1883, folio. [Facsimiles of many important Old Testament MSS.]

STRACK, H. L., *Prophetarum posteriorum Codex Babylonica Petropolitana*, folio, St. Petersburg 1876. [A photographic facsimile, with scholarly introduction, of this Babylonian MS. of the year 916 A.D., now at St. Peters-

burg, and important both for its contents and its Babylonian system of vowel-points.]

HARKAVY, A., *Neuäufgefundene Hebräische Bibelhandschriften*, with five photographed tables, St. Petersburg 1884, 4to. [Describes and characterizes some fifty-one newly-found Hebrew manuscripts and fragments, some of which are of singular interest palæographically and textually.]

(3.) *Editions of the Masorah, and Introductions thereto.*

BOMBERG'S *Second Rabbinic Bible*, . . . שער יהוה הקדש, *i.e. Sacred Gate of God*, Venice 1524–25, 4 vols. folio, edited by the celebrated Jacob ben Chajim. [Besides containing various rabbinic commentaries, this is the first printed edition of the Masorah, the margins being filled up with as much of the Masorah Magna and Parva as they would admit, the remainder being given in alphabetical order at the end of the fourth volume. Dr. Ginsburg has published an English translation of the invaluable Introduction, with explanatory notes, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for 1863; a second edition was published separately in London, 1867.]

LEVITA, ELIAS, ספר מסורת המסורת, Venice 1536, 4to. [An invaluable introduction to the Masorah: the text has been issued by Ginsburg, 1867, with English translation and notes.]

BUXTORF, J. (the elder), *Tiberias sive Commentarius Masorethicus Triplex*, 1st edit. Bâle 1620, last edit. Bâle 1665, 4to and folio. [Invaluable, first for its historical view of the Masorah, and second for its key to the Masoretic abbreviations and technicalities.]

BAER, S., *Liber Genesis e fontibus Masoræ illustravit, notis criticis confirmavit S. Baer; Præfatus est F. Delitzsch*, Leipsic 1869. [This edition of Genesis, which has been followed by Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and the minor Prophets, and which will be followed by the remaining books of the Old Testament, aims at presenting, with very brief explanatory notes, the accurate Masoretic text.]

FRENSDORFF, SAL., *Massoretisches Wörterbuch*, Hanover and Leipsic 1876, 4to. [The first part of an edition of the Masorah Magna, containing the Masorah in alphabetical order.]

BAER, S., and H. L. STRACK, *Die Dikduke ha-teamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ascher und andere alte grammatisch-massorethische Lehrstücke, zur Feststellung eines richtigen Textes des hebräischen Bibel*, etc., Leipsic 1879. [The probable date of this Masorete was 950 A.D.]

GINSBURG, CHRISTIAN D., *The Massorah Compiled from Manuscripts, Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged*,—vol. i., Aleph to Yod, London 1880, folio; vol. ii., Caph to Tav, 1883; vol. iii., not yet published, will contain "the dissertations on the rise and development of the Massorah, as well as the translation and explanation of each rubric." [Promises to be the standard work on the Masoretic text.]

(4.) *The Samaritan Pentateuch and Old Testament Textual Criticism.*

MORINUS, JOHN, *Exercitationes in utrumque Samaritanum Pentateuchum*, Paris 1631, 4to. [The first manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch was brought to Europe by Pietro de la Valle, the discoverer of the inscription of Persepolis, in 1623, and was printed by Morinus in the Paris Polyglot, whence it was copied into Walton's Polyglot; in this volume Morinus examines the nature and value of this version.]

BLAYNEY, BENJ., *Pentateuchus Hebræo-Samaritanus charactero Hebræo-chaldaico*, Oxford 1790. [Text with various readings.]

GESENIUS, W., *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole, et auctoritate*, Halle 1815, 4to.

WINER, G. B., *De Versionis Pentateuchi Samaritanæ indole*, Leipsic 1817.

NICHOLAS, G. F., *Grammar of Samaritan Language*, with extracts and vocabulary, London 1859.

PETERMANN, H., *Pentateuchus Samaritanus, ad fidem librorum*

MSS. apud Nablusianos repertorum, fasc. i. Genesis, Berlin 1872.

BRÜLL, A., *Das samarit. Targum zum Pentateuch*, Frankfort 1873–1876, with two appendices. [The best modern book.]

KOHN, S., *Zur Sprache, Literatur und Dogmatik der Samaritaner*, Leipsic 1876. [A useful introduction.]

(5.) *The Greek Versions and Old Testament Text.*

HODY, HUMPHREY, *De Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus, Versionibus Græcis, et Latina Vulgata, libri IV., præmittitur Historia Græce et Latine*, Oxford, small fol., 1705. [Still a standard book, although requiring correcting and supplementing by knowledge of later date.]

HOLMES, ROBERT (continued, after vol. i., by Jacob Parsons), *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum Variis Lectionibus*, Oxford 1798–1827, 5 vols. fol. [Does for the Septuagint what Kennicott did for the Hebrew text; about 1000 cursives and 16 uncials are examined: has the virtues and vices of Kennicott's method.]

FRANKEL, Z., *Historische-kritische Studien zu der Septuaginta*, vol. i. *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, Leipsic 1841.

—— *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipsic 1851.

—— *Ueber palästinische und alexandrinische Schriftforschung*, Breslau 1854, 4to. [Useful introductory studies.]

TISCHENDORF, C., *Vetus Testamentum Græce juxta LXX. Interpretes, Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos Novi Test. parallelos notavit, omnem lectionis varietatem codicum vetustissimorum Alexandrini, Ephraemi Syri, Friderico-Augustani subjunxit, prolegomenis et epilegomenis instruxit C. Tisch., editio quarta, identidem emendata, prolegomenis passimque etiám commentariis, ex codice Sinaitico aliisque auctis*, 2 vols., Leipsic 1869, 1st edit. 1850. A sixth edition was issued in 1880, edited by Eberhard Nestle, in which the prolegomena were carefully revised, and more accurate readings of the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. were

put in an appendix. [This is still the best edition of the Septuagint, although by no means worthy of Tischendorf's fame; the prolegomena are, however, indispensable: an edition of the Septuagint, for which many materials have been accumulated of late, is much wanted.]

FIELD, FREDERICK, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt; sive veterum interpretum græcorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta, post Flaminium Nobilium, Drusium et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione syro-hexaplari, concinnavit, emendavit et multis partibus auxit,* 2 vols. 4to, Oxford. [The Hexapla is invaluable in Septuagint studies, and has had a romantic history; this edition is a monument of English scholarship, with most erudite prolegomena.]

BAGSTER, *The Greek LXX., with an English translation, and with various readings and critical notes,* Bagster, 1878. [A handy edition.]

LAGARDE, P. DE, *Ankündigung einer neuen Ausgabe der griech. Uebersetzung der Alten Testamentes,* Göttingen 1882.

—— *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum, pars prior Græce studio et sumptibus edita,* Göttingen 1883. [The second vol. with prolegomena is not yet published; promises to be an invaluable edition.]

(6.) *The Latin Versions and Old Testament Text.*

Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ editionis Sixti V. jussu recognita atque edita, Rome, folio, 1592. [The authorized Romish edition, often reprinted.]

SABATIER, P., *Bibliorum sacrorum latinæ versiones antiquæ seu vetus italica et cæteræ quæcunque in codicibus MSS. et antiquorum libris reperiri potuerunt,* 3 vols. folio, 1743, Rheims, an augmented edition, 1749–51. [The first two vols. give fragments of old Latin versions collected from the Fathers: a series of supplementary works are given by Keil, *Introduction to the Old Testament,* English translation, vol. ii. p. 249; to which should be added E. Ranke, *Fragmenta versionum sacræ scripturæ latinæ*

antehieronymianæ, Vienna 1868, 4to, and Robert Ulysse, *Pentateuchi versio latina antiquissima e codice Lugdunensi*, Paris 1881, folio.]

Ess, L. van, *Pragmatische-kritische Geschichte der Vulgata*, Tübingen 1824. [Romanist.]

Kaulen, Fr., *Geschichte der Vulgata*, Mainz 1868. [Romanist.]

Rönsch, H., *Itala und Vulgata, das Sprachidiom der urchristlichen Itala und kathol. Vulgata unter Berücksichtigung der röm. Volkssprache erläutert*, Marburg 1869. Also *Studien zur Itala* in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theologie*, vols. xxi., xxii., xxv. [Important.]

Heyse and Tischendorf, *Biblia Sacra latina Hieronymo interprete ex antiquissima auctoritate in stichos descripta*, Leipsic 1873. [An edition of the Vulgate.]

Ziegler, L., *Die lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen vor Hieronymus und die Itala des Augustinus*, Munich 1879, 4to. [Stoutly asserts the multiplicity of Latin translations, as against the view of Cardinal Wiseman that there was but one Italic version.]

(7.) *The Arámáic Versions and the Old Testament Text.*

Geiger, Abr., *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwickelung des Judenthums*, Breslau 1857. [Scholarly but speculative.]

Etheridge, J. W., *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch, with the fragments of the Jerusalem Targum, from the Chaldee*, 2 vols. 12mo, 1862, 1865, Longmans. [Handy.]

Deutsch, Emanuel, *Literary Remains*, Murray, 1874. [Contains an invaluable article on the Targums, reprinted from the third vol. of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.]

Berliner, A., *Targum Onkelos, herausgegeben und erläutert*, 1st part, text after the *editio sabioneta* of 1557; 2nd part, notes, introduction, and register, Berlin 1884. [A first attempt at a critical pointed edition.]

§ 43.

PROBLEM AND UTILITY OF THE PHILOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

TWO questions preliminary to the actual interpretation of the Bible, have already occupied us, viz. first, what constitutes the Bible? and second, how far do we know the original words of the Bible? We now take another step. From the letter of the Bible, we pass to the languages in which those original texts were written. To textual it is necessary to add linguistic criticism. However, Old Testament Hebrew and New Testament Greek are languages so diverse that it is better to treat them apart, simply premising that whilst it is indispensable to any student of the Bible to be conversant with the Bible, at least in its English dress, it is equally indispensable to any scientific student of the contents of Scripture to have some acquaintance with the original tongues in which those precious contents were written. Confining ourselves, then, for the present to the sacred language of the Old Testament, the utility of a knowledge of Biblical Hebrew is evident from the following considerations.

First, in addition to the linguistic interest of Hebrew from its unlikeness to any European tongue, and its being a prominent example of quite another class of languages, a knowledge of Hebrew introduces us, as a familiarity with any alien language does, to a more intimate acquaintance with a foreign people. To think the thoughts of a people, there is no course so direct as to know their language.

Secondly, some knowledge of Hebrew is requisite to all intimate understanding of the Old Testament, the contents of

which, while they have their own unparalleled interest as religious records of any kind, have their own practical importance for the modern world.

Thirdly, without a knowledge of Hebrew, the Hebrew element in the yet more important New Testament idiom will be liable to be misunderstood.

For such reasons,—for the value of Hebrew in comprehending the Hebrews, and their faith, and the Christianity to which they were the forerunners,—the Hebrew language of the Old Testament can scarcely be neglected by the student of theology without detriment. Assuredly the acquisition of this Shemitic tongue is but a means to an end, and undoubtedly the amount of the acquisition may be regulated by that end, by the aid imparted, that is to say, in the interpretation of Scripture; but true as it is that a theologian need not master the whole range of Hebrew studies, it is equally true that entire neglect of those studies is irreparable. The great point is to study Hebrew sufficiently to ensure complete grasp of the interpretation of Scripture. Hebrew has passed through various phases. There is so-called classic Hebrew, such as prevailed from the days of Samuel to the exile. This phase must have been preceded by a more archaic Hebrew, some remains of which are to be seen, say, in the Song of Deborah. Further, this classic Hebrew merged, under the influence of the Babylonian exile, into an Aramaized and less pure Hebrew. Yet again there is post-Biblical Hebrew,—Rabbinic Hebrew, with its own peculiar development until the twelfth century of our era. And yet again, a few portions of the Old Testament are not written in Hebrew at all, but in a cognate dialect called Aramæan or Chaldee, as in Dan. ii. 4–7, 28; Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, and vii. 12–26. Further, it was in Aramæan that the Jews of the Holy Land spoke in the days of our Lord; and it was in Aramæan that the Jewish paraphrases called the Targums, and the Jewish commentary on the Law called the Mishna, were written. Now all these branches of Hebrew may be studied for their own sake and for the sake of the special knowledge to which they lead; they each have their own peculiar fascination, notably Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramæan;

but it is not contended that all who would have a firm hold upon Biblical theology require to study these several branches. The great end to be kept in view is a sure and firm interpretation of Scripture, and that is attained by a knowledge, and that of no very minute kind, of classical Hebrew.

§ 44.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL HEBREW.

CONFINING attention therefore to Biblical Hebrew, the main epochs in the study of this sacred language may be mapped as follows. There have been four periods of study, each characterized by its peculiar bent.

The *first epoch* was that of the traditional study by the successive Rabbinic schools to the close of the Masoretic period, about the end of the tenth century A.D. These traditional investigations, which must have a considerable value, call for much more careful examination by Hebrew philologers than they have yet received.

The *second epoch* was that of the early Jewish grammarians, who flourished in the Rabbinic schools from the tenth to the sixteenth century, and many of whose works are extant to-day.

The *third epoch* was that of the early Christian studies which, having been started by Reuchlin, the great humanist, who died in 1522, pursued a line of their own. Hebrew had been for centuries an unknown tongue in the Christian Church, and, the steadying influence of the philological interpretation being lost, the Old Testament had become almost a sealed book under the extravagances of the allegorical method, of which more will be heard presently. Reuchlin, who himself learnt Hebrew of certain Jewish scholars, opened up a new era in Biblical as well as Hebraic study by the publication of his *Rudimenta Linguæ Hebraicæ*. Naturally enough the traditional philology of the Jewish schools governed the entire epoch.

A *fourth epoch* is seen in the modern comparative and critical study of Hebrew inaugurated by Gesenius, who published his principal works from 1810 to 1842. His

great aim everywhere was to answer the questions, what Hebrew is, what history it has had, what are its laws, what are its peculiarities, what are the meanings and what the grammatical forms of its words. Gesenius, who has been followed in this line of study by Böttcher, as far as grammatical investigation is concerned, was the great master, that is to say, of the empirical study of Hebrew. The work of Gesenius upon the history of Hebrew study, his *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift, Eine philologisch-historische Einleitung in die Sprachlehren und Wörterbücher der hebräischen Sprache,* Leipsic 1815, is still the best book upon its subject. Upon this empirical study Ewald and Olshausen have advanced, asking, with much gift for the inquiry, especially in the case of Ewald, what rational explanation can be given of these accumulated facts: these two scholars thus showing themselves masters of the philosophical study of the language, having used very largely a wide knowledge of the related Shemitic languages, notably Arabic. Fürst and Delitzsch, with more reverence for the older Rabbinic teachers, have exercised a conservative influence of a very beneficial kind. New light is also coming from another quarter. If later developments of the Shemitic tongues have shed their light upon the ancient Biblical language, how much more illumination may be anticipated from any early language of that ancient stock! Delitzsch the younger is throwing light of a very strong kind upon Biblical Hebrew from the resuscitated grammar and lexicology of the ancient Assyrians. On the whole, the present study of Hebrew, especially of its lexicology, is peculiarly hopeful. If hitherto bias has been manifest both in grammars and in lexicons, the great task of the present is, utilizing light of all kind,—from cognate languages of the past, from cognate languages of the present, from Hebrew philologers both modern and traditional,—to give an infallible insight into the meaning of the Old Testament.

§ 45.

BOOKS ON OLD TESTAMENT PHILOLOGY RECOMMENDED.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

(1.) *Grammars.*

GESENIUS'S *Hebrew Grammar, translated from Rödiger's edition by Benjamin Davies, thoroughly revised and enlarged, with the help of Kautzsch's German edition and other recent authorities, by Edward C. Mitchell,* 4th copyright edit. 1880, Asher. [The best grammar for obtaining a knowledge of the facts of the language. A twenty-fourth German edition was issued in 1885.]

DAVIDSON, A. B., *An Introductory Hebrew Grammar, with Progressive Exercises in Reading and Writing,* 7th edit. 1884, T. & T. Clark. [Admirable for its exercises.]

(2.) *Lexicon.*

STUDENT'S HEBREW LEXICON, *A Compendious and Complete Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament, with an English-Hebrew Index, chiefly founded on the works of Gesenius and Fürst, with improvements from Dietrich and other sources, edited by Benj. Davies, third edition carefully revised by Edward C. Mitchell,* Asher, 1880.

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Hebrew Grammars.*

NOTE.—Besides the grammars mentioned above, any of the following would form good practical grammars, viz.: NORDHEIMER'S *Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language,* 2 vols., New York 1841, 2nd edit. 1842. [Called by Dr. Davies in his edition of Gesenius, "the best extant."] MASON, *Hebrew Exercise*

Book (Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew Exercises), with Practical Grammar of the Word-Forms, and an Appendix containing Analysis of the Verb-Forms in Gen. i.–iii. and xii., and List of all the Forms of the so-called "doubly-irregular" Verbs in the Bible, Cambridge, 2nd edit. 1876. [Conservative but good.] KALISCH, *A Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises,—Part I., The Outlines of the Language, with Exercises, being a Practical Introduction to the Study of Hebrew,* new edit., Longmans, 1878; Part II., *The Exceptional Forms and Constructions, preceded by an Essay on the History of Hebrew Grammar,* new edit. 1875. [Excellent.] BICKELL, *Outlines of Hebrew Grammar, revised by the Author, and annotated by the Translator, S. I. Curtiss, Junr.,* Leipsic 1877. [Excellent.] STANLEY LEATHES, *A Short Practical Hebrew Grammar, with an Appendix, containing the Hebrew Text of Gen. i.–vi. and Ps. i.–vi., Grammatical Analysis and Vocabulary,* 2nd edit. 12mo, 1879, Murray. [Elementary.] BOWMAN, *A New Easy and Complete Hebrew Course, containing a Hebrew Grammar, with copious Hebrew and English Exercises, strictly graduated, also a Hebrew-English and an English-Hebrew Lexicon, in two parts, the second of which was posthumous,* T. & T. Clark, 2 vols., 1879, 1882. [Excellent.] BALLIN, *A Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises selected from the Bible,* 12mo, 1881, Kegan Paul. [Elementary, but original.] GREEN, *A Grammar of the Hebrew Language,* 4th edit., New York 1883. [Excellent.] The works that follow have been selected because of important bearing upon the study of Hebrew grammar, conveying original investigation and discovery as well as past knowledge.

EWALD, H., *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes,* 1st edit. 1844, 8th edit. 1870, Göttingen. [See § 44.] The syntax, the most important part of the work, has been translated by James Kennedy under the title *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament, by Heinrich Ewald, translated from the eighth German edition,* T. & T. Clark, 1879.

OLSHAUSEN, JUSTUS, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache, Buch I., Laut- und Schrift-lehre; Buch II., Formen-lehre,*—the syntax has not been written, Brunswick 1861. [See § 44.]

BÖTTCHER, FRIEDRICH, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache,* edited after Böttcher's death by Mühlau, 2 vols., Leipsic 1866, 1868. [A gigantic work of more than 1300 closely printed pages, giving an analysis of every variation from grammatical rule in the Old Testament.]

STADE, BERNHARD, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik,* 1st part, *Schriftlehre, Lautlehre, Formenlehre,* Leipsic 1879. [Mediates between Ewald and Olshausen, and presents the exceptional in Hebrew in a very intelligible form.]

KÖNIG, F. E., *Historisches-kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen*

Sprache, mit steter Beziehung auf Qimchi und die anderen Auctoritäten, Erste Hälfte, Lehre von der Schrift, der Aussprache, dem Pronomen und dem Verbum, Leipsic 1881. [Lays the old Hebrew grammarians under contribution, as well as modern writers.]

DRIVER, S. R., *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew,* 2nd edit. 1881, Oxford, 16mo. [A philosophical and lucid presentation of a difficult but most important subject; there are also useful appendices on the use of the Jussive, and on Arabic as illustrative of Hebrew.]

DELITZSCH, FREDERIC, *The Hebrew Language Viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research,* Williams & Norgate, 1883. [Important.]

(2.) *Hebrew Lexicons.*

BUXTORF, J., *Lexicon Hebraicum et Chaldaicum,* Bâle 1607, best edition, 1676. [Useful as a guide to the traditional meanings of Hebrew words.]

SIMON, EICHHORN, and WINER, *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum, editio quarta,* Leipsic 1828. [As under Buxtorf.]

GESENIUS, WM., *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguæ Hebrææ et Chaldææ Veteris Testamenti, editio altera secundum radices digesta priore Germanica longe auctior et emendatior,* Leipsic, 3 vols., 1826–1853, 4to. [The maturest and fullest statement of Gesenius's researches, the last few letters being completed by Rödiger after the author's death.]

—— *Hebr. und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das A. T.,* Leipsic, 1st edit. 1815; the 5th to the 7th edits. were edited by Dietrich, the 8th and 9th (1883) by Mühlau and Volck. [The last editions are suspect because of much speculative matter.]

GESENIUS'S *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures, translated with additions and corrections from the Author's Thesaurus and other works, by S. P. Tregelles,* Bagster, 4to, 1846, new edit. 1857. [Needlessly timorous.]

ROBINSON, EDWARD, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, from the Latin of Wm. Gesenius, with corrections and large additions, partly furnished by the author in MS., and partly condensed from his larger Thesaurus,* 3rd edit. Boston 1849, 20th edit. New York 1881. [Excellent.]

FÜRST, JULIUS, *Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, mit einer Einleitung eine kurze Geschichte der Hebräischen Lexicographie enthaltend einem Deutschen Index sowie einem grammatischen und analytischen Anhange, bearbeitet von Victor Ryssel,* 2 vols., Leipsic 1876. [Relies more upon the traditional interpretation of Hebrew than Gesenius does.] This work has been translated by Samuel Davidson, 4th edit., Williams & Norgate, 1871.

(3.) *Hebrew Concordances.*

FÜRST, JULIUS, *Librorum Sacrorum Veteris Testamenti Concordantiæ Hebraicæ atque Chaldaicæ quibus ad omnia Canonis Sacri vocabula tum hebraica tum chaldaica loci in quibus reperiuntur, etc.,* Leipsic, folio, 1840, stereotype. [The standard concordance.]

DAVIDSON, B., *Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament,* 3rd edit., 2 vols. 4to, Bagster, 1874.

—— *A New Hebrew Concordance,* Bagster, 1878, 4to.

(4.) *Works on Cognate Languages, including Chaldee, of Value to the Student of Biblical Hebrew.*

BUXTORF, J., JUNR., *Lexicon Chaldaicum et Syriacum, quo voces omnes tam primitivæ quam derivativæ, quotquot in sacrorum Vet. Test. librorum Targumim seu Chaldaicis paraphrasibus, etc.,* Bâle 1622.

WINER, G. B., *Grammatik des bibl. und targumischen Chaldaismus,* 2nd edit., Leipsic 1842, 3rd edit. 1882.

RIGGS, ELIAS, *A Manual of the Chaldee Language, containing a Chaldee Grammar, chiefly from the German of G. B.*

Winer; a Chrestomathy consisting of selections from the Targums, and including notes on the Biblical Chaldee, etc., 4th edit., New York 1858.

SCHRÖDER, P., *Die Phönizische Sprache, Entwurf einer Grammatik nebst Sprach und Schriftproben*, Halle 1869.

SAYCE, A. H., *An Elementary Grammar, with full syllabary and progressive reading book, of the Assyrian Language in the Cuneiform Type*, Bagster, 1875, 4to.

TURPIE, D. M'., *A Manual of Chaldee Language*, Williams & Norgate, 1879.

LEVY, JACOB, *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, 1876, etc., still publishing.

Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars Prima Inscriptiones Phœnicias Continens, tomus i., Paris, fol., fascic. i. 1881, fascic. ii. 1883. [Photographed facsimiles, translations, and notes.]

§ 46.

PROBLEM AND UTILITY OF NEW TESTAMENT PHILOLOGY.

FROM the original language of the Old Testament we turn to that of the New, some knowledge of which is also an indispensable prerequisite to any scientific interpretation of Scripture. The Greek of the New Testament,—or Hellenistic Greek, as it is called from the fact that Jews living in foreign countries were commonly described not as *Ἑβραῖοι*, but as *Ἑλληνίσται*,—is not pure or classical Greek. An examination of the variations from literary Greek shows them to be resolvable either into variations resulting from the use of the vernacular rather than the literary language, or into variations consequent upon the Hebrew mode of thought and training of the writers. From these two causes arise numerous differences,—in the inflections, which resemble modern more nearly than classical Greek; in the syntax, which follows the Shemitic form of composition by preference to the Hellenic; and in the vocabulary, where many classical words receive wholly different turns of meaning because of Jewish and Christian associations. A word or two on each of these two principal causes of diversity. It is a matter of common observation that dialects are exceedingly numerous in the early stages of a language, every small district having and retaining peculiarities of speech of its own. Such was the case with Greek; for, though its dialects are commonly reckoned as four, we know that these are rather families of dialects, each comprising other local dialects. In course of time, one of these dialects, the Attic, drove the rest from the field of literary composition, and almost all Greeks who wrote books wrote in that dialect. Just as a Scotchman or Somersetshire man talks his own peculiar dialect but writes English, so in ancient times Greek writers wrote everywhere

the language of Plato and Demosthenes, although the several dialects held their own. Spoken Greek was no more Attic Greek than spoken English is necessarily the English of the erudite. Here an interesting fact supervenes. The religious language of Palestine was Hebrew, unknown to the masses and interpreted by a literary class, the Scribes. Now, it would seem that the language of the Septuagint and the New Testament writers was the language of common conversation, of the household and the street. If this were so, then the Septuagint was the first translation made into the vernacular for popular use, and the New Testament writers were the first to appeal to men, not through a literary or dead language, but through the vulgar tongue intelligible to all. But the language of the New Testament is not only vernacular Greek, it is vernacular Greek modified by the religious circumstances of the writers. The religious ideas of the Jewish Law, so alien to the ideas of heathenism, had to be rendered by Greek words of heathen associations, and, naturally enough, the translators of the Septuagint, proceeding on the principle of literal rendering and not paraphrase, the form of the sentences, the turn of the phrases, oftentimes the colour of the words they used are essentially Hebrew. The same facts are visible in the New Testament, although in a varying degree according to the insularity of the writer. Luke and Paul wrote more nearly the literary language, their syntax and technicalities bearing, notwithstanding, some Hebraic form; whereas writers of a more distinctly Jewish type like Matthew and James differ very widely from the classical forms of speech. From these two causes, provincialism and Hebraism, the variations from classical Greek may be classified at more length, something as follows. First, Hellenistic Greek comprehended words and forms from all the dialects without distinction. Secondly, some words which existed in classical Greek received wholly new meanings. Thirdly, Hellenistic Greek adopted into ordinary speech words rare or poetical or oratorical in Attic. Fourthly, many words received new forms or pronunciations. Fifthly, entirely new words and expressions were framed to meet new wants. Sixthly, particular phrases and constructions were borrowed directly from Hebrew.

Seventhly, the general characteristics of the Jewish speech were retained in Hellenistic Greek, — the vividness, the circumstantiality, the sameness of expression. Hence the problem of New Testament philology is to form sufficient acquaintance with the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament as to be able to transfer with accuracy into English the writings of the New Testament authors, despite their difference from classical Greek and their local colouring. The last words are added advisedly. For to the student of classical Greek, in all its purity and majesty, the meaning of much of the New Testament must be uncertain, and the significance of much more erroneous. All the technicalities of Leviticus might be instanced, as they appear in Hellenistic Greek,—a branch of inquiry in which classical associations have caused much undesirable confusion. For example, it is only the classical student who would import into *ἐξιλάομαι* or *ἱλάσκομαι* notions about appeasing an angry deity, or into *καθαίρειν* the idea of washing, whereas in the interpretation of such words the great point is not what they mean in classical Greek, but what Hebrew ideas these words, used of necessity because of the paucity of language, were intended to convey. It would puzzle an Athenian to translate intelligibly *Θυσία σωτηρίου.* Or what would an Athenian make of *προσώπον λαμβάνειν,* or *υἱὸς θανάτου,* or *ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνη*? If the last phrase had any meaning to him, it would be, not "reckoned for righteousness," but "argued into almsgiving." Before, therefore, a perfectly just estimate can be gained of the Gospels and Epistles, it is necessary to acquaint oneself to some extent with the language in which they were written, and this argues a familiarization with Hellenistic rather than classical Greek.

§ 47.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF HELLENISTIC GREEK.

THE vital point just elucidated, viz. the essential difference between the Greek of Plato and of Paul, to take by no means pronounced examples of Hellenistic and Attic Greek, is almost a discovery of this century, a discovery which marks an epoch in the study of New Testament philology. So important is the difference, that the book which first clearly and fully formulated it, the New Testament Grammar of Dr. Winer, divides the history of this branch of philological investigation into two distinct periods.

In the Middle Ages the predominance of the Vulgate crushed out Greek lore as well as Hebrew, and when at the Reformation the original language of the New Testament as well as that of the Old became the subject of enthusiastic research, it was the literary language of Attica which was acquired by exegetes under the conviction that it presented a perfectly adequate key to the Greek of Palestine. That a study of the language of the New Testament was the fundamental condition of all genuine acquaintance with the early records of Christianity was fully understood; it was not understood that familiarity with Attic Greek was no sufficient preparation for studying Hellenistic Greek. Even when recognition was given to New Testament Greek as a distinct philological problem, it was the Hebrew element alone which received scant and yet exaggerated attention. The entire number of works devoted to this branch of learning since the Reformation,—and in earlier times the Vulgate excluded the Greek of the New Testament from the abodes of scholarship,—is remarkable by their fewness. Glass's famous *Philologia Sacra* paid some heed to New Testament Greek. Again, in 1650, Caspar Wyss wrote his *Dialectologia*

Sacra, in which some scholarly work was done in endeavouring to refer all the peculiarities of the New Testament diction to the specific dialects of Attica, Ionia, Doris, Æolia, Bæotia, as well as to the tendencies of poetic speech and of Hebraizing. So, too, the posthumous grammar of Pasor, *Grammatica Græca Sacra Novi Test.*, 1665, did some real service. Then came a long pause in such studies. A hundred and fifty years passed before Haab published his Greek Grammar of the New Testament, in 1815, when the true idea of Hebraisms in the New Testament was ridden to death. Winer's first edition appeared in 1822.

So admirably has this work been thought out and matured that it remains to-day the standard work in its subject. It deals with the entire grammatical range of this branch of philology, with the general character of the New Testament diction, and with the accidence and syntax of Hellenistic Greek. It has been possible to correct and enlarge and abbreviate Winer's Grammar, but not to supersede it. Its influence, too, has been felt in the lexicological branch of the subject, and its root-ideas have moulded all recent study of the words themselves of the New Testament as well as their collocation, as will appear in the books recommended in the next section.

§ 48.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR NEW TESTAMENT PHILOLOGY.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

(1.) *Grammars.*

WINER, G. B., *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek, regarded as the basis of New Testament Exegesis, translated from the German, with large additions and full indices by W. F. Moulton,* 1st edit., T. & T. Clark, 1870 ; 2nd edit. 1877. [See § 47.]

GREEN, T. S., *A Grammar of the New Testament Dialect,* Bagster, 1872. [Briefer than the preceding.]

(2.) *Lexicon.*

CREMER, HERMANN, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität,* 3rd and much improved edition, Gotha 1883. The second German edition has been translated under the title *Biblico-theological Lexicon of the New Testament Greek,* 4to, 3rd edit. 1880, T. & T. Clark. [Embodies the latest researches.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Grammatical.*

BUTTMANN, A., *Grammatik des neutest. Sprachgebrauchs,* Berlin 1859. [Good.]

GUILLEMARD, W. H., *Hebraisms in the Greek Testament, exhibited and illustrated by notes and extracts from the sacred text, with specimens of* (1) *the influence of the Septuagint on its character and construction,* (2) *the deviations in it from pure Greek style,* Cambridge 1879, Deighton, Bell,

& Co. [A reissue of the Greek text of Matthew in full, with notes, originally published in 1875, together with a list of references to Hebraisms, non-classical constructions, and Septuagint parallels.]

(2.) *Lexicons.*

NOTE.—Compare excellent articles by Grimm in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1875 and 1877, entitled *Kritisch-geschichtliche Uebersicht der neutest. Verballexika seit der Reformation.*

SCHLEUSNER, J. F., *Novum Lexicon Græco-latinum in Novum Testamentum*, after the 4th Leipsic edition, 2 vols., Glasgow 1824. [Still useful.]

GRIMM, C. L. W., *Lexicon Græco-latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti, editio secunda emendata et aucta*, also under the title *C. G. Wilkii Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica usibus scholarum et juvenum theologiæ studiosorum accommodata, quem librum secunda atque hac tertia editione ita castigavit et emendavit ut novum opus haberi possit C. L. W. Grimm*, Leipsic 1879. [Scholarly and complete, giving the entire Biblical references under the majority of words.]

ROBINSON, ED., *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament, a new and improved edition, revised by Alexander Negris and John Duncan*, T. & T. Clark, 1879. [Excellent.]

TRENCH, R. C., *Synonyms of the New Testament*, 9th edit., revised, Macmillan, 1880. [Very suggestive.]

(3.) *Concordances.*

TROMMIUS, ABR., *Concordantiæ Græcæ Versionis vulgo dictæ LXX. Interpretum, etc.*, 2 vols. fol., Amsterdam 1718. [Still indispensable, although a little unreliable.]

BRUDER, C. H., *Concordantiæ Omnium Vocum Novi Testamenti Græci*, 5th edit., Leipsic, 4to, 1880. [Invaluable.]

THOMS, J. A., *A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament, embracing the marginal readings of the American as well as the English revisers*, Oxford and Cambridge 1883.

SUBDIVISION IV.: BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS, §§ 49–51.

§ 49.

DEFINITION AND PROBLEM OF BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

HAVING familiarized himself with the principles of textual criticism, and also with the facts and laws of Biblical philology, it might appear, it is true, to the prospective interpreter of Scripture that he is sufficiently furnished to proceed with his more immediate task. But just as the unique position of the Bible has made the science of Biblical textual criticism a model in its breadth and completeness for all other varieties of textual criticism, it has also given birth to an additional science which might well become a model for the interpretation of any other ancient book. This further preparatory science is called Biblical hermeneutics, or the science of the principles upon which the Bible should be interpreted. Some of those principles have already passed under review, but there are others which have not been hitherto mentioned, but which are so important that their acknowledgment should be not only consciously deliberate, but should form a never-failing habit of mind. What the leading principles of the science of Biblical hermeneutics are, might be presented in summary something as follows:—

The Bible being an ancient book which has been transmitted to us by numerous copyings throughout a long course of years, Biblical hermeneutics first points out, with various practical applications and inferences, that, as we have already seen, the primary necessity for an accurate exegesis is a criticism of the original text; no step being possible towards interpretation until the reliableness of the text itself has been

ensured by the processes of textual criticism. Secondly, Biblical hermeneutics proceeds to point out, with suitable expansion and rules for guidance, that the next step in a scientific procedure is, to ascertain by the laws of grammar and the facts of lexicology, the philological meaning of Scripture. With this second step we are also familiar. But new principles ensue. Thirdly, Biblical hermeneutics points out that the Bible being an unique book, this purely philological meaning should be rectified by a comparison of Scripture with Scripture, the Bible being the best guide to the meaning of the Bible, and here come in rules for the study of the context, of parallel passages, and of quotations. Fourthly, Biblical hermeneutics, following the general laws of interpretation under their specialized application to the books of Scripture, shows how textual, philological, and comparative criticism must be followed by what may be described as rhetorical criticism, which balances the rhetorical peculiarities of the time, the rhetorical peculiarities of the writer, the rhetorical peculiarities of the form of composition, whether parable or prophecy or narrative, and adjusts the interpretation accordingly. Fifthly, still observing the general laws of the interpretation of ancient books, archæological criticism is sometimes brought to bear, difficulties of many kinds being illuminated by means of contemporary history, geography, chronology, or manners and customs. Lastly, Biblical hermeneutics points out that sympathy, or what in this instance is often called the *analogia fidei*, is as necessary for the interpretation of a sacred as a profane writer, and that sympathy in this instance involves a Biblical state of mind. In the elaboration of these several stages of interpretative criticism,—textual, philological, comparative, rhetorical, archæological, religious,—Biblical hermeneutics is occupied, pointing out principles, stating rules, declaring difficulties, accumulating examples, all in a reasoned, luminous, and complete manner.

Such, then, is the problem which Biblical hermeneutics undertakes to solve, and a more strengthening and satisfactory discipline cannot be undertaken by the interpreter of Scripture than to make himself acquainted with the rudiments of this

science of Biblical interpretation. In all forms of speech, and with all varieties of instance and application, Biblical hermeneutics says to him who would fain grasp firmly the meaning of Scripture,—first, study the original text, where critics differ, to the best of your ability; secondly, expound according to philological rules, making use of a good lexicon and a good grammar; thirdly, correct your mere grammatical and lexicographical interpretation by a free use of the concordance, especially comparing Hebrew words with Hebrew synonyms or their Greek equivalents, and comparing Greek words with Greek synonyms and their Hebrew originals; fourthly, acquaint yourself with the archæology involved, including geography, chronology, history, and oriental usage; fifthly, make any allowance necessitated—(*a*) by the spirit of the age, (*b*) by the spirit of the class of writings, (*c*) by the spirit of the writer, and (*d*) by the manifest intention of the writer; sixthly, never forget that the changed point of view produced by spiritual growth may make a past survey inadequate or a new survey more fruitful. What is here said briefly, Biblical hermeneutics says with scientific accuracy, limitations, and fulness.

§ 50.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

BUT it is desirable to state distinctly that the method of interpretation laid down with utmost brevity in the preceding section has not been the only hermeneutical method. Hence the desirability of saying something upon other tendencies in Biblical interpretation. Not that a careful and complete historical outline of the principles of interpretation uppermost at various ages, their flourishing and their decay, their growth and their transition, which would need a large volume, is called for here. All that is needed is such a summary view of the several tendencies seen in history as would impart intelligent firmness to the grasp of the principles of hermeneutics already laid down. In fact, in this instance, the history of the study broadly regarded is rather a statement of contemporaneous tendencies than of successive phases. At all times in the course of the Church there have been *three tendencies in Biblical interpretation*, more or less manifest and influential, viz. a tendency to seek veiled meanings in Scripture, a tendency to interpret the Bible from doctrinal standpoints, and a tendency, rare but growing, to find the meaning of the sacred text by strict rule and evidence. *The first tendency* may be called *the allegorical; the second, the dogmatic;* and *the third, the scientific.*

The early Christian interpreters were under special temptations to give their adhesion to the *allegorical* method. It was a favourite method with the Jewish schools. Philo, born about twenty years before Christ, is a good instance. Philo devoted himself mainly to the exposition of the Pentateuch, and feeling perplexed by its human views of God, set himself to explain these away by the allegorical method. His key to the difficulties he found in the Mosaic writings was

that they had a twofold meaning, the one popular, evident, and exoteric, and the other esoteric, latent, and spiritual. The surface sense was acknowledged, but held to be for the illiterate; the wise would penetrate through the envelope of the literal history to the secret sense it enclosed. Philo's hermeneutical method was to rise by allegory from the plain anthropomorphic sense (*τὸ ψυχικόν*) to the higher or spiritual sense (*τὸ πνευματικόν*). In short, the simplest and most matter-of-fact histories were to be "spiritualized," as the phrase goes. Whatever the histories of the Genesis signified to the vulgar, to the enlightened they were so many aspects of the human soul (*τρόποι ψυχῆς*). Adam, for instance, was a figure of the sensuous nature, Rebecca a figure of patience, Leah of despised virtue, Egypt of the body, and Canaan of piety. Not only has this allegorical method developed into the fantastic interpretations of the Jewish Kabbala, but it has also vitiated much Christian exposition. It is, alas! not too severe a judgment to say that this allegorizing tendency, this application to sober exegesis of what is allowable in sermons, has been more or less displayed in all ages of the Christian Church, sometimes becoming the predominant bias of whole epochs. This allegorizing tendency tinged the arguments of the Apostolic Fathers in their controversy with Judaism; it was the ruling principle of the later Fathers in the East and in the West; the cold intellectualism of scholasticism did not eliminate it, for it was utilized, in somewhat more temperate forms, by men like Isidore of Hispala, the venerable Bede, Hugo St. Victor, and Abelard; it continued to flourish when the Reformation prompted renewed study of the Bible, as the writings of Calvin, Melancthon, and Zwingli testify, to say nothing of their followers and of Luther; and to-day it crops up only too frequently in commentaries as well as in preaching. The most thoroughgoing advocate of the method was the great Origen, the conclusions of whose severe logic might well warn many off these treacherous quicksands of exposition. The motive of the allegorizing method is intelligible enough; it mostly arises from an apologetic purpose. But its faults are as evident as its motive is good. It altogether misapprehends

the relations existing between the Old and New Testaments; it fails to grasp the idea of development in the divine revelations; it sacrifices the naturalness of the Bible on the shrine of its difficulties. The method will always have its attractiveness for a certain order of ingenious minds, but it has not the remotest claim to be considered scientific, that is, reasoned and correct.

Like the allegorizing method, the *dogmatic* method also approaches Scripture with preconceived opinions. It is seen in its grossest development in the Church of Rome, which expressly teaches that the true meaning and interpretation of Scripture must be found in the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, Scripture finding its highest sanction in the doctrine of the Church, instead of the doctrine of the Church finding its supreme sanction in Scripture. But this characteristic of Romanism has been found in many Churches, for many are the Churches which have read a creed into the Bible, in preference to framing the Bible into a creed. Of this method of interpretation it is not necessary to give illustrations. So frequent has been this use of the Bible in the interests of partisans, so common has been this interpretation of the Bible by ecclesiastical decision, that this dogmatic method has given rise in many minds to the belief that the Bible may be made to mean anything.

Alongside of these two methods, both eminently subjective, there has usually been a third, as distinctly objective, which is gradually becoming recognised as the only legitimate method, and which is alone entitled to the name *scientific*, that is to say, *inductive*, since it alone inquires without bias what the Bible teaches, following without prejudice wherever the Bible may lead. This is the method which has been summarily described in the preceding section. It is strictly inductive, reasoning from the contents of the Bible alone. It eschews the deductive method entirely, neither reading Christianity into Judaism, nor ecclesiasticism into Christianity. This method has had at most times some conspicuous advocates, to whom the great aim of exposition has always been to find out the actual sense of Scripture, irrespective of prepossessions. The great School of Antioch amongst the Fathers, with its

eminent leaders, Lucian of Samosata, Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom and Theodoret, followed this objective method according to their lights. So did the scholarly School of Edessa, with men like Basil of Cæsarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzum, and the great Jerome. From the fourth to the fifteenth century, examples of this more chastened and sober exegetical method are to be found, rarely it is true. After the days of the Renaissance, the method was naturally advocated by the Humanists, led by Erasmus and Reuchlin. A great impetus to its prosecution was given by the Reformation, which could have no foundation apart from an accurate and impregnable study of Scripture. Nor is it too much to say that in the several Protestant communions the true scientific method has been gradually becoming better understood, and more widely and successfully applied. There have been occasional relapses to subjective methods, as in the several rationalistic schools and the typology of men like Coccejus; but side by side with an occasional falling out of the ranks on the part of some expositors, there has been a steady advance towards inductive and objective views along the whole line of Protestant commentating. The hermeneutic method described in the last section has no deliberate opponents to-day.

§ 51.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

NOTE.—In the absence of any good recent book which covers briefly the whole ground, the student is recommended to select from the more advanced series.

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *On the Hermeneutics of both Old and New Testaments.*

WEMYSS, THOS., *A Key to the Symbolical Language of Scripture, by which numerous passages are explained and illustrated, founded on the Symbolical Dictionary of Daubuz, with additions from Vitringa, Ewaldus, and others,* Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 12mo, 1835. [A useful book on an important branch of hermeneutics.]

DAVIDSON, SAM., *Sacred Hermeneutics Developed and Applied, including a History of Biblical Interpretation from the Earliest of the Fathers to the Reformation,* Edinburgh 1843. [Excellent.]

BOSANQUET, S. R., *Interpretation, being Rules and Principles assisting to the Reading and Understanding of the Holy Scriptures,* Hatchards, 1874. [Contains much useful matter on style, idioms, prophecy, miracles, types, and divine methods in revelation.]

LANGE, J. D., *Grundriss der biblischen Hermeneutik,* Heidelberg 1878. [Practical.]

CELLÉRIER, J. E., *Manuel d'Herméneutique,* Geneva, translated with additions by Charles Elliott and William J. Harsha, under the title of *Biblical Hermeneutics,* New York 1881. [Good.]

HOFMANN, J. C. K. VON, *Biblische Hermeneutik, nach Manuschriften und Vorlesungen herausgegeben von W. Volck*, Nördlingen 1881. [Striking and original.]

TERRY, MILTON S., *Biblical Hermeneutics: A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments*, New York 1883; also under the title of *Library of Biblical and Theological Literature, edited by G. R. Crooks and J. F. Hurst*, vol. ii., *Biblical Hermeneutics*. [Divided into three parts, viz. Introduction to Biblical hermeneutics, dealing with the language, criticism, and inspiration of the Bible, principles of Biblical hermeneutics, and history of Biblical interpretation; useful but somewhat cumbrous.]

(2.) *On the Hermeneutics of the Old Testament.*

GINSBURG, C. D., *The Kabbalah: its Doctrines, Development, and Literature*, Longmans, 1865. [History of a phase of interpretation both interesting and frequently influential.]

SIEGFRIED, CARL, *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testaments*, Jena 1875. [History of another important phase of interpretation.]

—— *Die Aufgabe der Geschichte der alttest. Auslegung in der Gegenwart*, Jena 1876. [Points out briefly but ably, with some references to good books, the task of the present, viz. to study the history of interpretation to Ezra, and from Ezra to Christ, then to delineate the course of Jewish and of Christian interpretation in their several phases.]

FRANKEL, E., *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipsic 1851. [Important.]

(3.) *On the Hermeneutics of the New Testament.*

ERNESTI, J. A., *Institutio interpretis Novi Test. ad usum lectionum*, 1st edit., Leipsic 1761, 4th edit., amended by Ammon, 1792. A good edition of this book was issued

by Moses Stuart, with notes and additions from Morus, Beck, Keil, and Henderson, 4th edit., Andover 1842, also published under the title of *Hermeneutical Manual, or Introduction to the Study of New Testament, translated by Charles H. Terrot*, 2 vols. 12mo, Edinburgh 1832, T. & T. Clark. [Still useful for its insight.]

FAIRBAIRN, PATRICK, *Hermeneutical Manual, or Introduction to the Exegetical Study of the Scriptures of the New Testament*, T. & T. Clark, 1858. [Divided into three parts, viz. (1) discussion of facts and principles bearing on the language and interpretation of New Testament Scripture; (2) dissertations on particular subjects connected with the exegesis of New Testament, such as the genealogies, the names of Christ, *βαπτίζω*, *ᾅδης*, etc.; and (3) the use made of Old Testament in the writings of New Testament: a valuable book.]

DOEDES, J. J., *Manual of Hermeneutics for the Writings of the New Testament, translated from the Dutch by G. W. Stegmann*, 12mo, T. & T. Clark, 1867. [Clear and concise, with good references to related literature.]

IMMER, A., *Hermeneutik des Neuen Testamentes*, Wittenberg 1873, translated from the German by Albert H. Newman, under the title of *Hermeneutics of the New Testament*, 12mo, Andover 1877. [An excellent book divided into three parts—(1) the general principles of hermeneutics, (2) the single operations of the Scripture interpreter, (3) the religious relation.]

(4.) *On the Use of the Old Testament in the New.*

THOLUCK, A., *Das Alte Testament im Neuen Testament, erste Beilage, Ueber die Citate des Alten Testaments in Neuen Testaments*, 6th edit., Gotha 1868. [After a historical introduction, treats of the citations of Old Testament in Jewish writers, by Jesus, in Paul, in the Gospels, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews.]

TURPIE, DAVID M'CALMAN, *The Old Testament in the New, a Contribution to Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, the quotations from the Old Testament in the New classified*

according to their agreement with or variation from the original, the various readings and versions of the passages added, and critical notes subjoined, Williams & Norgate, 1868.

Turpie, David M'Calman, *The New Testament View of the Old, a Contribution to Biblical Introduction and Exegesis,* Hodder & Stoughton, 1872. [In this volume the Introductory Formulæ to the quotations from the Old Testament in the New are discussed; a further volume is promised, in which the quotations themselves are to be examined.]

Scott, James, *Principles of New Testament Quotation established and applied to Biblical Criticism, and specially to the Gospels and Pentateuch,* 2nd edit. 12mo, T. & T. Clark, 1877. [Divided into five parts, viz. formulas of quotation, principles of quotation, analogous quotation from ecclesiastical and classical writers, vindication of quotation, and application of principles.]

Toy, C. H., *Quotations in the New Testament,* New York 1884. [Shows a considerable freedom of quotation in the New Testament writers, and a very large use of the Greek and Aramaic versions; a scholarly book.]

SUBDIVISION V.: BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION IN GENERAL, §§ 52–54.

§ 52.

DEFINITION AND PROBLEM OF BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION.

SEEING that quite a series of sciences which prepare the way for the interpretation of Scripture has now passed under rapid review, dealing in turn with the canon of Scripture, its text, its language, and the general principles of its interpretation, it might well seem that the list of sciences introductory to exegesis was complete. But a few words must be given to what is called Biblical introduction, for two reasons, first, to guard against misapprehension, and second, to avoid incompleteness.

Biblical introduction is the technical designation for works which present a general view of such studies as are preliminary to a satisfactory exposition of Scripture; in other words, Biblical introduction is the science or group of sciences which are introductory to exegesis or the interpretation of Scripture. This at any rate is the definition adopted here. Biblical introduction consists of Biblical canonics, Biblical textual criticism, Biblical philology, and Biblical hermeneutics; or, perhaps more accurately, Biblical introduction deals with the principles of all these sciences presented in accurate manner and appropriate order. Not that this is the only meaning which has been attached to the term. Manifestly the term itself is a vague one, and precision is therefore difficult in its use. Some have used the word as synonymous with what is often called a companion to the Bible, as may be seen in HORNE'S *Introduction*, where the geography, antiquities, and natural history of the Bible are treated as well as the Biblical text and the principles of interpretation. Others again, like REUSS, have meant by introduction all that might be called a history of the Bible, that is to say, a history of its separate

books, a history of the canon, a history of translations, a history of the text, and a history of the interpretation. And yet again, a more limited view is not uncommon, as in DAVIDSON, where by Biblical introduction is meant a series of introductions to the several books of Scripture, dealing with such questions as the authorship, the date of writing, the place of writing, the contents, the style, and the peculiar difficulties or specific questions suggested by the several books. In short, all agree that Biblical introduction introduces, but opinions vary as to what it introduces: Biblical introduction introduces the student *to Biblical interpretation*, say some; *to the general use of the Bible*, say others; *to the history of the Bible*, say others; and *to the intelligent use of the individual books of the Bible*, says a fourth class.

In this diversity of view, inseparable from the current acceptance of so indefinite a word, it is manifest that the conveniences of systematic arrangement must decide upon the particular usage adopted. In this book, by Biblical introduction is meant all that prepares the way for the interpretation of Scripture, and Biblical introduction really consists of the several sciences preparatory to exegesis already examined. Here, however, an old distinction will render service. Biblical introduction has been divided again and again into two parts, *general and special*, and the names are useful; general introduction embodying all that can be said by way of introduction to the interpretation of Scripture as a whole, and special introduction presenting all that is necessary to introduce to the separate books of Scripture.

The PROBLEM then of Biblical introduction varies with the Old and New Testaments, by the nature of the case. The general Biblical introduction to the Old Testament deals with the question of the canon of the Old Testament, the text, the language, and the principles of the interpretation of the Old Testament. The special Biblical introduction to the Old Testament deals with the same themes for each of the Old Testament books, the specific circumstances in each instance causing certain variations of method as well as result. A similar allotment of subjects may be made under New Testament introduction, general and special.

§ 53.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION.

FROM the view just taken of Biblical introduction, it follows that much of the history of its study has been already given in the history of the study of its constituent sciences, viz. Biblical canonics, textual criticism, philology, and hermeneutics. A few additional words may, however, be added with advantage. The word *Introduction* was used as early as the fifth century, when Adrian, a Greek, wrote his εἰσαγωγὴ τῆς γραφῆς, with a view to instructing readers of the Bible how to rightly understand some difficult Biblical words and expressions. This book was edited by David Höschel in 1602, and published under the title of *Adriani Isagoge in Sacram Scripturam;* it was also reprinted in the eighth volume of the London edition of the *Critici Sacri*. *Keys*, as they were called, to the Old and New Testaments had been published before Adrian's book, with a similar purpose, and also with the aim of presenting the principles of Biblical interpretation,—*regulæ ad investigandam et inveniendam Intelligentiam Scripturarum.* From the sixth century, when Cassiodorus wrote his *Institutiones Divinæ*, in which he mentioned, under the name of *Introductores Divinæ Scripturæ*, five authors who had been engaged in works introductory to the Bible, amongst whom were Augustine and Adrian, the title *Introductio in Scripturam Sacram* was established. The very flexibility of the name accounts for the variety of ideas attached to the word. Many introductions dealt with isolated portions of the entire science, and many with the entire range of studies, according to the conception of the author. To trace the entire course of these conceptions would answer no practical end, for introductions to the Bible have abounded from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The peculiar standpoint or value of the leading modern books will be presented in the next section.

§ 54.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION.

NOTE.—Books on special introduction, that is to say, on the introduction to individual books, or to smaller collections of books than are here mentioned, will be given either in § 57 or § 63, according to their contents.

I. *Introductory.*

KEIL, K. F., *Manual of Historico-critical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament, translated from the second German edition, with supplementary notes from Bleek and others by Geo. C. M. Douglas,* 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1869. [The first part deals with the origin and genuineness of the canonical writings of the Old Testament, as a whole and individually, and the second part gives a history of the transmission of the Old Testament, *i.e.* of the canon, of the versions, of the criticism of the text, and of the principles of interpretation.]

BLEEK, FR., *An Introduction to the New Testament,* translated from the second German edition, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1869–70. [Also deals ably with the entire range of the subject, making a good companion volume to the preceding.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Introductions to the Whole Bible.*

DE WETTE, W. M. L., *Lehrbuch der histor.-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel A. und N. Test.,* part i., Einleitung in 's A. T., Berlin 1817, 7th edit. 1852; part ii., Einleitung in 's N. T., 1826–30, 6th edit. 1860. The Old Testament section has been translated by

Theodore Parker, under the title *A Critical and Historical Introduction to the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament,* in 2 vols., Boston 1843. [Treats of the whole range of both general and special introduction; a valuable guide to modern German opinion.]

Angus, Joseph, *The Bible Hand-Book, an Introduction to the Study of Sacred Scripture,* Religious Tract Society, 1860; a smaller edition in 12mo is now issued. [A good popular introduction in the sense of Horne.]

Kaulen, Fr., *Einleitung in die heilige Schrift A. und N. T.,* Freiburg 1876 and 1882. [A representative book of Roman Catholic scholarship; not yet completed.]

(2.) *Introductions to the Old Testament.*

Eichhorn, J. G., *Einleitung in das A. T.,* 1st edit. 1780, etc., 4th edit. in 5 vols. 1823–24, Göttingen, 12mo. [A monument of scholarship, upon both general and special introduction, still worthy of study.]

Hävernick, H. A. Ch., *Handbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in das A. T.,* 3 vols., Erlangen 1837–49, the third volume being edited by Keil, who also issued a 2nd edit. of vols. i. and ii. in 1854–56; translated under the title *A Historico-Critical Introduction to the Pentateuch,* T. & T. Clark, 1850. [Good; more conservative than the preceding.]

Bleek, Fr., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament, herausgegeben von J. Bleek und A. Kamphausen,* 4th edit. edited by J. Wellhausen, Berlin 1878, 1st edit. 1860. [An excellent book, but must be used with caution, because of the critical views of both author and editor.] The second German edition was translated by G. H. Venables, under the title of *An Introduction to the Old Testament,* in 2 vols., Bell & Daldy, 1869.

Davidson, Sam., *An Introduction to the Old Testament, Critical, Historical, and Theological, containing a discussion of the most important questions belonging to the several books,* Williams & Norgate, 3 vols., 1862. [Deals with special introduction only.]

FÜRST, JULIUS, *Geschichte der biblischen Literatur und des jüdisch-hellenistischen Schriftthums historisch und kritisch behandelt*, 2 vols., Leipsic 1867. [Useful if carefully employed.]

KEIL, K. F., *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphischen Bücher des A. T., neu bearbeitet von Eberhard Schrader*, 3rd edit., Berlin 1869. [The English translation is made from 2nd edition.]

REUSS, ED., *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften A. T.*, Brunswick 1881. [Not so useful a book as the *History of the Scriptures of the New Test.*; this really examines the history of the Old Testament books from the standpoint of a very doubtful criticism.]

(3.) *Introductions to the New Testament.*

HUG, J. L., *Einleitung in die Schriften des N. T.*, Tübingen and Stuttgart 1800–1847, 2 vols. [Still a useful book in its subject.]

BLEEK, FR., *Einleitung in das Neue Test.*, 1st and 2nd edit. edited by J. F. Bleek, 1862 and 1865, 3rd edit. edited by W. Mangold, Berlin 1875. [The third edition contains much new matter.]

REUSS, ED., *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testament*, 5th edit. 1874, translated by E. L. Houghton under the title *History of the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament*, 2 vols., Boston 1884. [A very useful book; it is in five divisions, containing the history of the New Testament literature, canon, text, translations, and exegesis.]

DAVIDSON, SAM., *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, Critical, Exegetical, and Theological*, 2 vols., Longmans, 1868, new edit. 1882. [Deals with special introduction only.]

HILGENFELD, ADOLF, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Leipsic 1875. [An important book, tinctured with the peculiar views of the author.]

FARRAR, F. W., *The Messages of the Books, being Discourses*

and Notes on the Books of the New Testament, Cassell, 1884. [Deals with special introduction.]

Salmon, George, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament, being an expansion of Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Dublin,* Murray, 1885. [Mostly treats of special introduction, especially in its relation to the canon, with a few additional lectures on Baur's theory of early Church history, the original language of Matthew, and some apocryphal books; the whole is ably done.]

SECOND HEAD (SUBDIVISION VI. OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY SPECIFICALLY CONSIDERED): BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

§ 55.

DEFINITION AND PROBLEM OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

AFTER the lengthy consideration of the first head of Biblical theology specifically considered, or the several aids to Biblical exegesis, advance both sure and fruitful may now be made to Biblical exegesis itself. Exegesis, ἐξηγήσις (from ἐξηγέομαι, I lead, describe, explain), is statement, explanation, exposition; and hence an exegete is an expositor, guide, interpreter. Biblical exegesis — for there may be exegesis of any book, and especially of any ancient book — is the exposition or interpretation of the Bible. In other words, Biblical exegesis is the product of the application of the several aids to Biblical interpretation already considered. The several introductory sciences, and especially the science of hermeneutics, present the theory of interpretation; exegesis shows the application of the theory.

Little more need be said either as to the definition or the problem of exegesis. But two additional points require emphasis.

On the one hand, exegesis is an art as well as a science. In this case, as in all art, theory has its use, but the most accurate acquaintance with the theory of exegesis does not necessarily make an exegete. Art implies aptitude, and often instinctive aptitude, as well as science; and the best exposition of Scripture results from the best exegetical aptitude, together with the best knowledge of method. The point is important; for many qualities, some of them rare, must combine to constitute exalted exegetical aptitude. There must be historic sense to transport oneself to a long-past life and

phase of civilisation ; there must be vividness of apprehension ; there must be imagination, sympathy, rapid appreciation of the thoughts of others, logical acumen, tact, a passionate love of truth, an entire freedom from bias ; and last, but by no means least, moral and spiritual qualities of a high kind attributable to the divine inspiration alone. Indeed, the PROBLEM of exegesis is, by all possible aids, scientific and personal, to reproduce the contents of Scripture for modern times, all needful corrections having been made for latitude and for age.

On the other hand, there are three principal modes of effecting this great end of the exegete, which may be used either together or apart. These three forms of representation are *commentary*, *paraphrase*, and *translation*. Translation is the rendering in another language the actual words of the original, and is certainly the most difficult of the three methods. In paraphrase the sense of the original is rendered by periphrasis, circumlocution, the use of more and different words ; this also demands almost as great ability as perfect translation. To the commentary, the easiest form of interpretation, brevity is not so necessary, brevity being in this case rather a quality of style than an essential of method, whilst the data upon which a judgment is based may allowably be given, as well as the results arrived at ; in this case, further, the interpretation is presented, not in the very words of the original as in translation, nor by a careful rendering of the strict sense of the original in different words, as in paraphrase, but by comment, by remark, by observation, by criticism, by any means which will illustrate the sense of the original. As a rule, however, all three modes are adopted in the interpretation of Scripture, and any good commentary combines the several advantages derivable from translation and paraphrase and comment. Any good commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, for example, would first present as accurate a rendering as possible of the exact words of Paul, would then elucidate this translation by a paraphrastic rendering which would minimize the possibility of double meanings or vaguenesses to which bare translation is liable, and would then append, according to the taste, knowledge,

method, or purpose of the writer, any additional matter which would secure a vivid and exact appreciation of the actual thought of the great apostle. It is manifest that commentary as such gives large play to the individuality of those who write it, and that, according to the bent of mind or the purpose deliberately kept in view, the commentary may be more scientific or more popular, devoted to the needs of the advanced scholar or those of the working pastor.

§ 56.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

IT will be remembered that when the history of hermeneutical study was presented (§ 50), the several leading methods of interpretation were briefly characterized. They were severally designated the allegorical method, the dogmatic, and the scientific. Although some historical matter was there introduced, the order of presentation was by preference synchronous. By way of completing, as far as our plan requires, the history of the interpretation of Scripture, it may be well to observe in this section an order more chronological. The one method of presentation is complementary to that of the other, but, as it was desirable then to see the principal tendencies displayed in Biblical interpretation, it is expedient now to show how various ages have been governed almost wholly by one predominant method. Indeed, as has been acutely pointed out by Dr. Credner and others, scientific interpretation goes hand in hand with the principle of spiritual progress, and the dogmatical with the conservative principle, the allegorical principle being very frequently an artificial aid subservient to the conservative principle. It should also be added, that where there reigns either inability or disinclination to pursue the more laborious study of Scripture according to the scientific method, the allegorical becomes straightway the favourite method.

Little difficulty therefore is caused by the fact that the first method of interpretation commonly adopted by the Christian Church was the allegorical, adopted, that is to say, in the solution of difficulties. The obvious grammatical meaning is of course naturally adopted by every one, until that grammatical meaning lands in difficulties, when immediately recourse must be had to some further method. Now-a-

days, when the plain meaning shows itself inadequate to explain all that any passage or author intends, resort would be had to the more recondite principles of the scientific method, and study of the context or of Biblical analogy or of ancient manners and customs would possibly terminate the difficulty. In the early Church the allegorical interpretation presented a readier solution. Early in the second century the demand became urgent for a systematic presentation of the doctrines of the Bible, and especially urgent in Alexandria, where the example of Philo, himself but an example of his age and times, had given an exalted position to the allegorizing method. Origen and Clement simply show us the way the current was running, and their example, and their easy and fascinating results, prompted many to follow their lead. After what has been already said of the method of Origen, further illustration is unnecessary.

However, there always lies one important objection against the allegorical method, namely, that it cannot be reduced to rule, and that, consequently, the interpretations it affords are apt to vary with the ingenuity and imaginativeness of those who employ it. It always fosters individualism in interpretation. How should a method which gives different results in almost every instance long satisfy those growing necessities which the entire Church of Christ was beginning to experience? If the method failed in producing what it was expressly framed to produce, that is to say, unanimity of belief, catholicity of creed, the natural inference was that there was something wrong in the method. Two other methods were possible, either of which might procure the desired unanimity, the method of authority, and the method of research. Authority could produce unanimity by silencing objectors; research could produce unanimity by ascertaining truth. From the fourth century the method of authority, the dogmatical method, began to sway the Christian Church. Difficulties of interpretation were solved by an appeal to the consensus of those ecclesiastical teachers who had been recognised as orthodox by the Church. And this method had a long reign. Its leading principle was well expressed by Vincent of Lerins, when he wrote in words which are both familiar and

dear to the lovers of ecclesiastical authority to-day: "Since the Holy Scriptures, on account of their depth, are not understood by all in the same manner, but their sentences are understood differently by different persons, so that they might seem to admit as many meanings as there are men, we must well take care that within the pale of the Catholic Church we hold fast what has been believed everywhere, always, and by all." Well and good, if catholicity and truth are identical; but surely a truer principle would be, not to make catholicity a test of truth, but truth a test for what is really catholic. At least, history testifies that, under the dominance of this method, exegesis languished, if it did not die, the interpretation of Scripture being confined to collecting the opinions of the orthodox upon Scripture. Difficulties were solved by precedent. From the fourth to the fifteenth century this dogmatical method was paramount. The important question as to what Scripture means was transformed into the not so important question, as to what orthodox teachers of the past have thought that Scripture means.

But a qualifying remark must be made. From the fourth to the fifteenth century the allegorical method was also to the front. The allegorical method was, in fact, a chosen handmaid to the dogmatical. For two reasons. On the one hand, the allegorical method was itself the favourite method of the very teachers whose deliverances were made authoritative; and, on the other hand, allegory, which was permissible, counterbalanced one great disadvantage of authority, by giving legitimate play to the individuality which authority crushes out. "Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret, et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix." To amend, therefore, the preceding statement, it should be said, that from the fourth to the fifteenth century the dominant method of interpretation was the dogmatical, the authorities in vogue declaring by theory and practice in favour of the allegorical method. Some protests were, of course, made against this tyranny of authority, and men like Johannes Scotus, Erigena, Roger Bacon, and others would have prosecuted the scientific method had they known how.

The revival of classical studies, which had so large an

influence in preparing the way for the Reformation, also affected Biblical interpretation very distinctly. Allegorical interpretation did not rule amongst the teachers of ancient Greek and Latin, and the philological laws which governed the interpretation of Plato and Cicero were manifestly applicable to the Old and New Testaments. The scientific method came therefore rapidly to the front at the epoch of the Reformation. And an additional reason besides the success of the scientific method in interpreting ancient profane authors told in favour of the application of the scientific method to the Scriptures: the whole spirit of the time was against the reign of ecclesiastical authority as such, and that dogmatical authority favoured an interpretation came to be regarded as an argument against rather than for. The Bible and not the Church became the standard of appeal upon religious matters at the time of the Reformation, and, of course, the Bible rationally, or scientifically, not ecclesiastically, interpreted.

For a time, it is to be feared, under the predominant tendency of the seventeenth century, even Protestantism recurred to the dogmatical standpoint, and the Bible was interpreted in harmony with the recognised creeds. Whereas creeds should be tested by the Bible, there was an indubitable tendency for awhile to interpret the Bible by creeds. Again, however, the fetters of authority were snapped under the stress of battle. The conflicts of Arminians and Calvinists, and of Christians and Rationalists, distinctly aided the resuscitation of the scientific method. Both parties in the several conflicts were compelled to ask what the Bible actually taught, not what the creeds described the Bible as teaching. To-day the scientific method is acknowledged as the only true method by all Protestant Churches, and for years the scientific method itself has become both better understood, and more consistently and intelligently applied. The monuments of exegetical labour which testify to the industry of the English-speaking and Continental nations in the interpretation of Scripture, and which will be named and characterized in the next section, themselves witness at the same time to the correctness and the fruitfulness of the scientific method.

§ 57.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL EXEGESIS.

NOTE.—The student is recommended to begin his study by the careful selection of some one good commentary upon each book of Holy Scripture; the general characteristics of books are given below. It is often of assistance for the preacher to keep closely to one good commentary, which he has interleaved and annotated from other books which have come under his notice. He would be wise also to consult Spurgeon's *Commenting and Commentaries, Two Lectures addressed to the Students of the Pastor's College, together with a Catalogue of Biblical Commentaries and Exposition*, Passmore & Alabaster, 1876.

(1.) *Commentaries on the whole Bible.*

CALVIN, JOHN, *Opera Exegetica et Homiletica:* a splendid critical edition is now being edited in the series of the *Corpus Reformatorum*, by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss; a good series of translations was given in the works published by the Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh 1845, etc. [Unsurpassed for clearness, brevity, and good sense.]

Critici Sacri, sive Doctissimorum Virorum in SS. Biblia Annotationes et Tractatus, 9 vols. folio, 1660; also in 13 vols., Amsterdam 1698–1732. [A collection of the most prominent previous commentators throughout the history of the Church, arranged under the books of Scripture; thus under Genesis, chap. i., we have the comments of Munster, Fagius, Vatablus, Castalio, Clarius, etc.]

POOLE, MATTHEW, *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque S. Scripturæ interpretum*, 4 vols. in 5, folio, 1669–1676; various editions since. [A useful abridgment, digested into a consecutive commentary of what had been written previously by critics of all ages and nations.]

HENRY, MATTHEW, *An Exposition of the Old and New Testament, wherein each chapter is summed up in its contents, the sacred text inserted at large, in distinct paragraphs, each*

paragraph reduced to its proper head, the sense given and largely illustrated, with practical remarks and observations; a good edition was issued by Nisbet in 1866, in 9 vols., carefully revised and corrected. [Still invaluable to the public expositor for its homeliness, vivacity, insight, and raciness.]

BUNSEN, C. C. J., *Vollständiges Bibelwerk für die Gemeinde:* 1st division, *Die Bibel oder die Schriften des Alten und Neuen Bundes nach den überlieferten Grundtexten übersetzt und für die Gemeinde erklärt;* 2nd division, *Bibelurkunden, Geschichte der Bücher und Herstellung der urkundlichen Bibeltexte;* 3rd division, *Bibelgeschichte, Das Ewige Reich Gottes und das Leben Jesu,* Leipsic, 9 vols. 4to, 1858–1865. [Must be used with discrimination.]

LANGE, J. P., *Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, with special references to ministers and students, in connection with a number of eminent European divines, translated, enlarged, and edited by Philip Schaff, in connection with American scholars of various evangelical denominations,* 25 vols., New York, and T. & T. Clark, 1867–82. [Fourteen vols. on Old Testament, ten on the New, and one on the Apocrypha.]

COOK, F. C., editor, *The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version, with an explanatory and critical Commentary and a revision of the translation, by bishops and other clergy of the Anglican Church,* 10 vols., Murray, 1871–81. [No express homiletical matter.]

REUSS, EDOUARD, *La Bible, Traduction Nouvelle avec Introductions et Commentaires: Ancien Testament, Première Partie, Histoire des Israelites depuis la Conquète de la Palestine jusqu' à l'Exil* (Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings); *Deuxième Partie, Les Prophètes; Troisième Partie, L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi* (Pentateuch and Joshua); *Quatrième Partie, Chronique Ecclésiastique de Jérusalem* (Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah); *Cinquième Partie, Poésie Lyrique* (Psalms and Lamentations, as appendix, the Song of Songs); *Sixième Partie, Philosophie Religieuse et Morale des Hebreux* (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes,

Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom, Baruch, Manasseh); *Septième Partie, Littérature Politique et Polémique* (Ruth, Maccabees, Daniel, Esther, Judith, etc.): *Nouveau Testament, Première Partie, Histoire Evangélique* (Synopsis of the first three Gospels); *Deuxième Partie, Histoire Apostolique* (Acts); *Troisième Partie, Les Epitres Pauliniennes; Quatrième Partie, L'Apocalypse; Cinquième Partie, Les Epitres Catholiques; Sixième Partie, La Théologie Johannique* (Gospel of John, and Epistles), Paris 1874–81. [The introductions are too individual to be of much service, but the French translation is important: there is no express homiletical matter.]

SPENCE, H. D. M., and JOSEPH S. EXELL, editors, *The Pulpit Commentary,* Kegan Paul, 1880, etc.; 17 vols. have already appeared, and the series will apparently run to about 30 volumes. [No attempt is made at unity other than of plan; introductions are given in every volume by specialists, then follow under convenient paragraphs commentary as such and a series of homiletical outlines; many Biblical scholars and preachers of different schools are co-operating.]

ELLICOTT, C. J., editor, *The Old Testament Commentary for English Readers,* by various writers, 5 vols 4to; also *The New Testament Commentary for English Readers,* 3 vols. 4to, Cassell. [Exegetical; excellent.]

PEROWNE, J. J. S., editor, *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges,* by various writers, still publishing. [Handy volumes in 12mo, comprehensive and scholarly, with useful introductions, maps, indices, and appendices.]

Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students, T. & T. Clark, 12mo. [The books of the Bible are being excellently treated by well-known scholars in a popular manner in this series.]

(2.) *On the Whole of the Old Testament.*

Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Leipsic 1838, etc., 17 volumes; new editions appear

at intervals, as *e.g.* the 4th edition of Hitzig's Minor Prophets, edited by Steiner, was issued in 1881; the 2nd edition of Ezekiel, edited by Smend, was issued in 1880; and the 4th edition of Genesis, by Dillmann, was issued in 1883. [Some of the best scholarship in Germany has combined in the composition of this book; it is distinctly an abbreviated exegetical commentary; in philological interpretation and archæological illustration it is very strong; its introductions vary much in value; it has no express homiletic material.]

KEIL, C. F., and FRANZ DELITZSCH, *Biblische Commentar über das Alte Testament*, 14 vols., Leipsic 1861–83; here again new editions are issued as required; translated into English under the title *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament*, in 25 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1864–78. [This also is a purely exegetical commentary, and the volumes by Delitzsch are amongst the best products of modern scholarship, especially his Psalms, Isaiah, and Job; Keil's work is unequal and of less value, his Ezekiel being the best.]

WUENSCHE, A., *Bibliotheca Rabbinica, Eine Sammlung alter Midraschim zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übertragen*, 34 parts, 1880–85. [Invaluable for studying the Jewish renderings, and comments.]

DICKINSON, R. D., publisher, *The Preacher's Complete Homiletical Commentary on the Old Testament, on an original plan, with critical and explanatory Notes, Indices, etc., by various authors*, 15 vols. published. [Mainly homilies original or extracted.]

(3.) *On the Pentateuch.*

NOTE.—Books on the critical questions involved will be found in § 63, and books on the interpretation of the creation narrative in § 83.

BAUMGARTEN, M., *Theologischer Commentar zum Pentateuch*, 2 vols., Kiel 1843. [Exegetical, with numerous references to the doctrinal implications.]

KNOBEL, AUGUST, *Die Völkertafel der Genesis, Ethnographische Untersuchungen*, Giessen 1850. [Important.]

KALISCH, M. M., *Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament, with a new Translation*, vol. i. Genesis, 1858; vol. ii. Exodus, 1855; vols. iii. and iv. Leviticus, 1867 and 1872, Longmans. Two editions were published, the one with Hebrew and English, and the other with English only; the first part of Leviticus has elaborate treatises on sacrifices and the Hebrew priesthood, extending over two-thirds of the volume. [Exegetical, but the several volumes belong to very different critical standpoints.]

—— *Bible Studies*, Part i. *The Prophecies of Balaam*, Longmans, 1877.

SCHULTZ, F. W., *Das Deuteronomium erklärt*, Berlin 1859. [Exegetical.]

KAMPHAUSEN, A. H. H., *Das Lied Mosis*, Deut. xxxii. 1–43, Leipsic 1862. [Exegetical.]

MURPHY, JAS., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Genesis, with a new Translation*, T. & T. Clark, 1863; Exodus, 1866; Leviticus, 1872.

TUCH, F., *Commentar über die Genesis*, 2nd edit., improved by A. Arnold, with an appendix by A. Merx, Halle 1871. [Exegetical, and strong in its archæology, but must be used with care.]

DELITZSCH, FRANZ, *Commentar über die Genesis*, 4th edit., wholly re-written, Leipsic 1872. [The best commentary on Genesis; its views as to authorship doubtful.]

HERSHON, PAUL ISAAC, *The Pentateuch according to the Talmud, Genesis, with a Talmudical Commentary, translated by M. Wolkenberg, with an Introductory Essay by H. D. M. Spence*, Bagster, 1883.

DELITZSCH, FRIEDRICH, *Wo lag das Paradies? eine biblisch-assyriologische Studie mit zahlreichen assyriologischen Beiträgen zur biblischen Länder und Volkerkunde und einer Karte Babyloniens*, Leipsic 1881. [Important.]

ENGEL, MORITZ, *Die Lösung der Paradiesfrage, mit einer Karte*, Leipsic 1885. [Important.]

PARKER, JOSEPH, *The People's Bible*, Genesis and Exodus issued 1885, R. Clarke. [Homiletical.]

(4.) *On the other Historical Books of the Old Testament.*

DAVIDSON, A. B., *Lectures, Expository and Practical, on the Book of Esther*, T. & T. Clark, 1859.

WRIGHT, C. H. H., *Book of Ruth in Hebrew, with Grammatical and Critical Commentary*, Williams & Norgate, 1864.

BACHMANN, J., *Das Buch der Richter*, vol. i., Berlin 1868–70. [Exegetical.]

(5.) *On the Poetical Books of the Old Testament generally.*

LOWTH, ROBERT, *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælectiones Academicæ Oxonii habitæ . . . cum notis et epimetris Joannis Davidis Michælis suis animadversionibus adjectis edidit E. F. C. Rosenmüller*, Oxford 1821, the best edition; also translated under the title *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, translated from the Latin of the Right Rev. Rob. Lowth, 2 vols., 1787. [Useful as an introduction to the form and literary style of Bible poetry.]

EWALD, H., *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes erklärt*, 4 vols., first part, first half, *Allgemeines über die Hebräische Dichtkunst und über die Psalmenbuch*, 2nd edit., Göttingen 1866; second half, *Die Psalmen und die Klaglieder*, 3rd edit. 1866: second part, *Die Salomonischen Schriften*, 2nd edit. 1867: third part, *Das Buch Ijob*, 2nd edit. 1854; partly translated under the titles *Commentary on the Psalms*, 2 vols., and *Commentary on the Book of Job*, 1 vol., Williams & Norgate, 1880–82. [The translations into German are excellent, the grammatical hints and the hints on style good, the higher criticism poor.]

TAYLOR, ISAAC, *The Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry*, new edition, Bell & Daldy, 1861. [Very suggestive.]

LEY, J., *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie*, Halle 1875.

BICKELL, G., *Metrices biblicæ regulæ exemplis illustratæ*, Innsbruck 1879, and *Supplementum*, 1879.

GIETMANN, P. G., *De re metrica Hebræorum*, Freiburg 1880.

(6.) *On the Book of Job.*

RENAN, ERNEST, *Le Livre de Job, traduit de l'Hébreu, avec une étude sur l'âge et le caractère du poème,* 1st edit. 1859, 4th edit. 1882, Paris. [A translation in French, and a study of the book in the form of a preliminary essay.]

DAVIDSON, A. B., *A Commentary on Job, grammatical and exegetical, with a Translation,* vol. i., Williams & Norgate, 1862.

MERX, A., *Das Gedicht von Hiob, Hebräischer Text, kritisch bearbeitet und übersetzt, nebst sachlichen und kritischer Einleitungen,* Jena 1871.

HENGSTENBERG, E. W., *Das Buch Hjob erläutert,* 2 vols., Leipsic 1875.

COX, SAMUEL, *A Commentary on the Book of Job, with a Translation,* Kegan Paul, 1880. [Exegetical.]

ANCESSI, VICTOR, *Job et l'Egypte, le Rédempteur et la Vie Future dans les civilisations primitives,* Paris 1877.

CLARK, H. J., *The Book of Job, a Metrical Translation, with Introduction and Notes,* Hodder, 1880.

WRIGHT, G. H. B., *The Book of Job, a new critically revised Translation, with Essays on Scansion, Date, etc.,* Williams & Norgate, 1883.

(7.) *On the Book of Psalms.*

HENGSTENBERG, E. W., *Commentar über die Psalmen,* 2nd edit. 4 vols., 1849–1852. [Exegetical.]

NEALE, J. M., and R. F. LITTLEDALE, *A Commentary on the Psalms, from the primitive and mediæval writers, and from the various office books and hymns of the Roman, Mozarabic, Ambrosian, Gallican, Greek, Coptic, Armenian, and Syrian rites,* 4 vols., Masters, 1860–1874.

HUPFELD, H., *Die Psalmen übersetzt und ausgelegt,* 2nd edit. by Riehm, 4 vols., Gotha 1867–1872. [Exegetical.]

ALEXANDER, J. A., *The Psalms, translated and explained,* 6th edit. 3 vols., New York 1868–69.

SPURGEON, C. H., *The Treasury of David, containing an original exposition of the Book of Psalms, a collection of illustrative extracts from the whole range of literature, a*

series of homiletical hints upon almost every verse, and lists of writers upon each Psalm, 7 vols. (Ps. i.–cxxiv.). Passmore & Alabaster, 1870–1885. [Invaluable to preachers.]

MURPHY, J. G., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms, with a new Translation*, T. & T. Clark, 1875.

BURGESS, W. R., *Notes chiefly Critical and Philological on the Hebrew Psalms*, 2 vols., Williams & Norgate, 1879–82. [Annotations, interesting, and sometimes speculative, on difficult passages.]

GRAETZ, H., *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen nebst Text und Uebersetzung*, 2 vols., Breslau 1882–83. [Useful, despite its conjectural emendations of text and its often fanciful criticism.]

PEROWNE, J. J. S., *The Book of Psalms; a new translation, with Introductions and Notes explanatory and critical*, 5th edition, revised, Bell & Sons, 1883. [Excellent as an exegetical commentary.]

JENNINGS, A. C., and W. H. LOWE, *The Psalms, with Introduction and Critical Notes*, 2nd edit., 2 vols. 12mo, Macmillan, 1884–85. [Exegetical; excellent.]

(8.) *On Proverbs, the Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes.*

STUART, MOSES, *A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, 12mo, New York 1852. [Exegetical.]

—— *A Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, 12mo, New York 1851. [Exegetical.]

GINSBURG, C. D., *The Song of Songs, translated from the Original Hebrew, with a Commentary historical and critical*, Longmans, 1857. [A good introduction.]

—— *Coheleth or Ecclesiastes, translated, with a Commentary*, Longmans, 1857.

HITZIG, F., *Die Sprüche Salomos übersetzt und ausgelegt*, Zürich 1858. [Exegetical.]

HENGSTENBERG, E. W., *Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes, to which are appended Treatises on the Song of Solomon, on the Book of Job, on the Prophet Isaiah, on the Sacrifices of Holy Scripture, and on the Jews and the Christian Church, translated by D. W. Simon*, T. & T. Clark, 1860.

RENAN, ERNEST, *Le Cantique des Cantiques traduit de l'Hébreu, avec une étude sur le plan, l'âge, et le caractère du poème,* 4th edit., revised, Paris 1879. [Same plan as his Job.]

—— *L'Ecclésiaste traduit de l'Hébreu, avec une étude sur l'âge et le caractère du livre,* 2nd edition, Paris 1882. [Same plan as his Job.]

THOMAS, DAVID, *The Practical Philosopher; a Daily Monitor for the Business Men of England, consisting of brief and suggestive moral readings in the Book of Proverbs for every day in the year,* Hamilton, Adams, & Co. [Valuable for homiletical material.]

(9.) *On the Prophets generally.*

UMBREIT, F. W. C., *Praktischer Commentar über die Propheten des Alten Bundes, mit exeget. und krit. Anmerkungen,* 4 vols., Hamburg 1842–46. [Homiletical.]

EWALD, H., *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt, Neue Bearbeitung,* 3 vols., Göttingen 1867–68; translated under the title of *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament,* 5 vols., Williams & Norgate, 1875–1881. [Shows all the characteristics of the author previously mentioned under (5.).]

BRUSTON, CHAS., *Histoire Critique de la Littérature Prophètique des Hébreux depuis les Origines jusqu' à la Mort d'Isaie,* vol. i., Paris 1881. [Excellent; well read even in Assyriology.]

(10.) *On Isaiah.*

GESENIUS, WM., *Der Prophet Jesaia, Uebersetzt und mit einem vollständigen philologisch-kritischen und historischen Commentar begleitet,* 1st part, translation; 2nd part, introduction and commentary upon chaps. i.-xxxix.; 3rd part, commentary on chaps. xl.-lxvi., Leipsic 1821. [Still not wholly superseded.]

DRECHSLER, M., *Der Prophet Jesaias übersetzt und erklärt,* 3 vols. (vol. i. in 2nd edition), Leipsic 1845–65. [Also not wholly superseded; more conservative than the preceding.]

ALEXANDER, J. A., *The Prophecies of Isaiah, translated and explained*, 2 vols., revised edit., T. & T. Clark, 1874. [Excellent.]

IBN EZRA, *Commentary on Isaiah, translated, with Introduction, Appendix, and Notes, by M. Friedländer*, Trübner, 1873. [Rabbinic.]

STRACHEY, ED., *Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib, an Inquiry into the Historical Meaning and Purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2nd edit., Isbister, 1874. [Utilizes Assyriology largely.]

The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters,—I. Texts edited from printed books and MSS. by Ad. Neubauer; II. Translations by S. R. Driver and Ad. Neubauer: with an Introduction to the Translations by E. B. Pusey, Parker, 2 vols., 1876–77.

NUTT, J. W., *Commentary on Isaiah by Rabbi Eleazar of Beaugenci, edited from a unique Bodleian MS., with a notice of Mediæval French and Spanish Exegesis*, Baer, 1879.

CHEYNE, T. K., *The Prophecies of Isaiah; a New Translation, with Commentary and Appendices*, 2 vols., Kegan Paul, 1880. [Original and scholarly in exegesis, with some interesting essays appended.]

KNABENBAUER, J., *Erklärung des Propheten Isaias*, Freiburg 1881. [Shows the best Roman Catholic scholarship.]

(11.) *On Jeremiah.*

HENDERSON, E., *The Book of Jeremiah, and that of the Lamentations, translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary, critical, philological, and exegetical*, Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1851.

NEUMANN, W., *Jeremias von Anathoth, Weissagungen und Klagelieder des Propheten ausgelegt*, 2 vols., Leipsic 1856, 1858. [Exegetical.]

MOSHEH BEN SHESHETH, *Commentary on Jeremiah and Ezekiel*, edited and translated by S. R. Driver, Williams & Norgate, 1872. [Rabbinic.]

SCHOLZ, ANTON, *Commentar zum Buche des Propheten Jeremias*, Wurzburg 1880. [Exegetical.]

(12.) *On Ezekiel.*

HAEVERNICK, H. A. C., *Commentar über den Propheten Ezechiel*, Erlangen 1843. [Exegetical.]

FAIRBAIRN, PATRICK, *Ezekiel and the Book of his Prophecy, an Exposition*, T. & T. Clark, 1851. [The best English exegetical commentary.]

HENGSTENBERG, E. W., *Die Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiel erläutert*, 2 vols., Berlin 1867, 1868, translated by A. C. and J. G. Murphy under the title, *The Prophecies of Ezekiel Elucidated*, T. & T. Clark, 1869.

(13.) *On the Minor Prophets—Daniel to Malachi.*

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SCHOETTGEN, C., *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ in Universum Novum Testamentum, quibus Horæ J. Lightfooti in libris historicis supplentur, etc.*, Dresden and Leipsic, 4to, 1733–1742. [Follows the lead of Lightfoot.]

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exegetical commentary; the translated series is confined to the volumes as completed by Meyer himself, with the addition of Lünemann's *Thessalonians and Hebrews*, and Huther's *Pastoral and Catholic Epistles*.]

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—— *Notes on the Parables of our Lord*, 11th edit. 1870, Macmillan. [A preliminary essay examines the principles and nature of parabolic teaching.]

—— *Studies in the Gospels*, 1867, Macmillan. [Examines in the characteristic manner of the author the temptation and some other episodes in the life of Christ.]

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HOBART, W. K., *The Medical Language of St. Luke, a Proof from Internal Evidence that "the Gospel according to St. Luke" and "the Acts of the Apostles" were written by the same person, and that the writer was a medical man,* Dublin 1882.

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HACKETT, H. B., *A Commentary on the Original Text of the Acts of the Apostles*, new edit., revised and greatly enlarged, Boston 1866; first complete English edition, Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1877. [Exegetical; excellent.]

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ROBERTSON, FRED. W., *Expository Lectures on First and Second Corinthians*, 12mo, King, 1870. [Homiletical.]

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ELLICOTT, C. J., *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a Critical and Grammatical Commentary and a Revised Translation, 3rd edit., carefully revised throughout*, Longmans, 1863.

EADIE, JOHN, *Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians*, T. & T. Clark, 1869. [Exegetical.]

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STUART, MOSES, *A Commentary to the Epistle to the Hebrews*, new edit. 12mo, Andover 1876; English edition, 8vo, London 1833. [Exegetical.]

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DALE, R. W., *The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church, a Series of Discourses on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hodder, 6th edit. 1882. [Homiletical.]

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NEANDER, A., *Der Brief Jakobi praktisch erläutert*, Berlin 1850, translated by H. C. Conant under the title *The Epistle of James Practically Explained*, 12mo, New York 1852.

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CANDLISH, R. S., *The First Epistle of John Expounded*, 2 vols. 12mo, Edinburgh 1870. [Homiletical.]

HAUPT, E., *Der Erste Brief des Johannes, Beitrag zur biblischen Theologie*, Colberg 1869, translated by W. B. Pope under the title *The First Epistle of John, a Contribution to Biblical Theology*, T. & T. Clark, 1879.

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ROSSELET, G. A., *L'Apocalypse et l'Histoire*, 2 vols., Paris 1878.

BECK, J. T., *Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis, cap.* 1–12, *herausgegeben von Jul. Lindenmeyer*, Gütersloh 1884.

THIRD HEAD: BIBLICAL EXEGESIS APPLIED, §§ 58–69.

SUBDIVISION VII.: BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY, §§ 58, 59.

§ 58.

DEFINITION, PROBLEM, DIVISION, AND HISTORY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

IT was possible to treat the second head of Biblical theology with some brevity, because that head was after all but the practical outcome of the several subdivisions of the first head, which had been already treated at some length, although all too briefly considering their importance, —an importance due both to their intrinsic interest and their educational value. It will also be possible to treat the several sub-sections of this third head with brevity, for the same reason, seeing that they deal rather with results than with methods, and for a further reason also: these several resulting sciences have been constituted sciences so recently, that the slightest treatment of the history of their study will be possible. The nineteenth century will have many claims to the gratitude of posterity, and not the least of these claims will be that the several branches of applied exegesis, nay, that the several branches of Biblical theology, have been exalted into the position of sciences. Indeed, Biblical theology as a whole may almost be called the child of the nineteenth century. First in the order of the sciences resulting from the application of Biblical exegesis comes Biblical archæology.

Strictly speaking, archæology is the knowledge of antiquity (*ἀρχαιολογία*), but the word is usually applied not to all knowledge of times long past, but to one branch of that knowledge. In the ordinary English acceptation of the word, an archæologist is a student of the materials from which history

is compiled, such as old books, ancient manuscripts, antique customs, and especially monumental remains of buried civilisations. Similarly by Christian archæology is usually intended investigations into the ecclesiastical architecture and furniture of the earlier Christian centuries. Even the term "Biblical archæology" is sometimes used in a parallel sense, as when the eminently useful "Society of Biblical Archæology" professes its aim to be to "collect from the fast perishing monuments of the Semitic and cognate races illustrations of their history and peculiarities." Nevertheless the term Biblical archæology is usually understood in a wider sense to-day,—as including all the details of the public and private life of the ancient peoples of the Bible, together with their physical conditions,—all those details, in fact, which supply the local colouring indispensable to the historian of the Biblical world if history is to be more than imagination, or otherwise than a retrojected present. By Biblical archæology as now prosecuted is meant something more than the study of monuments left by the ancient peoples of the Bible, and something less than the entire study of Biblical antiquity, including history, doctrine, and biography. *Biblical archæology is the science of the materials for Biblical history.*

The SOURCES of Biblical archæology are various, being, *first*, ancient monuments, coins, and remains; *secondly*, written records in sacred and profane writers; *thirdly*, any ancient treatises extant upon archæology or any of its sections; and *fourthly*, because of the stagnant character of Oriental life, modern travel, or research. From all these sources combined THE PROBLEM of Biblical archæology is to obtain all knowledge possible of the physical and social condition of the Biblical nations and peoples, and especially of the Hebrew nation in all the phases of its chequered history. In such a pursuit, Philo and Josephus are ransacked, as well as the books of the Bible, the Mishna as well as the Pentateuch, coins and pyramids, inscriptions, sculptures, and ruins, the illustrations to be found in the works of rabbis or the sacred books of Parsism or Mohammedanism, the whole range of travels in Bible lands from the Arabian itineraries of the seventh century to the Transactions of the Palestine or the Egypt Exploration

Funds, and any other source of original information upon Bible lands or Bible peoples.

Hence the several departments of Biblical archæology may be CLASSIFIED as follows:—*First*, the geography of Bible lands; *secondly*, the natural history of the Bible; *thirdly*, the social life of the Bible peoples; *fourthly*, their political life; *fifthly*, their religious life; *sixthly*, their international life; and *seventhly*, the chronology of the Bible.

As to the HISTORY of Biblical archæology, very little needs be said. It really resolved itself, until very recently, into a history of its several subdivisions. The books which have constituted the study scientific in both range and accuracy, are still the leading books on the subject, and will be named in the next section.

§ 59.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

I. *Introductory.*

CONDER, F. R. and C. R., *A Handbook to the Bible, being a Guide to the Study of the Holy Scriptures, derived from Ancient Monuments and Modern Exploration*, 2nd edit., Longmans, 1880, 12mo. [An excellent handbook, dealing with the chronology of the Bible, its metrology, the Hebrew ritual, government, and social life, and with a description of the Holy Land in its several great epochs.]

KEIL, K. F., *Handbuch der biblischen Archäologie*, 2 vols., Frankfort, 1st edit. 1858, 2nd 1875. [The best book on the whole range of the subject; should be translated.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *On Biblical Archæology in general, and on Biblical Archæology in narrower sense as Study of Monuments.*

EWALD, H., *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, 3rd edit., Göttingen 1866, 1st edit. 1844, translated under the title of *The Antiquities of Israel*, Longmans, 1876. [On Biblical archæology in general; original in treatment, and worth reading side by side with Keil.]

SAALSCHÜTZ, J. L., *Archäologie der Hebräer für Freunde des Alterthums und zum Gebrauche bei akademischen Vorlesungen*, 2 parts, Königsberg 1855–56. [A useful book on Biblical archæology in general.]

Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology, 1872, etc.

RULE, WM. HARRIS, and J. C. ANDERSON, *Biblical Monuments*, Croydon 1871–73, 4to. [Photographs and descriptions of the principal monuments in stone and manuscript from the deluge tablet to Wycliffe's translation; a good popular book.]

(2.) *On the Geography of the Bible.*

RITTER, K., *Erdkunde der Sinai-Halbinsel, von Palästina und Syrien*, 4 vols. in 6, Berlin 1850–55, translated by Gage under the title of *Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, 4 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1866. [A recognised authority.]

ROBINSON, ED., *Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent Regions, a Journal of Travels in the year* 1838, 2 vols., 2nd edit., Boston 1860; also *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and in the adjacent Regions, a Journal of Travels in the year* 1852, 2 vols., 2nd edit., Boston 1857. [These two books are also recognised authorities.]

THOMSON, W. M., *The Land and the Book, or Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land*, 2 vols., New York 1859, also Nelson, London, new edition in 3 vols., 1880–83. [Invaluable for its illustration of Scripture, the striking narrative of a missionary long resident in Palestine.]

TOBLER, TITUS, *Bibliographia Geographica Palestinæ*, Leipsic 1867. [Shows very large research.]

—— *Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ ex sæculo* viii., ix., xii., and xv., Leipsic 1874. [Antiquarian.]

STANLEY, A. P., *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History*, new edit., with maps and plans, Murray, 1866, 3rd edit. 1883. [Invaluable for two reasons,—its helpfulness in giving local colour to Biblical descriptions, and its massing around each sacred spot the associations of the Bible and of profane history.]

PORTER, J. L., *The Giant Cities of Bashan and Syria's Holy Places*, Nelson, 1866, 12mo. [Most interesting and instructive.]

PALMER, E. H., *The Desert of the Exodus, Journeys on Foot in the Wilderness of the Forty Years' Wandering, undertaken in connection with the Ordnance Survey of Sinai and the Palestine Exploration Fund, with maps and numerous illustrations from photographs and drawings taken on the spot,* 2 vols., Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1871. [Of intrinsic merit, as well as interesting from the tragic fate of the author.]

WILSON, WARREN, ETC., *The Recovery of Jerusalem, a Narrative of Exploration and Discovery in the City and the Holy Land,* with an introduction by A. P. Stanley, edited by Walter Morrison, honorary treasurer to the Palestine Exploration Fund, Bentley, 1871. [Invaluable as a guide to recent researches.]

WARREN, CHAS., *Underground Jerusalem, an Account of some of the principal Difficulties encountered in the Exploration, and the Results obtained, with a Narrative of an Expedition through the Jordan Valley, and a Visit to the Samaritans,* Bentley, 1876. [Carries on the preceding record of the labours of the Palestine Exploration Fund.]

CONDER, C. R., *Tent Work in Palestine, a Record of Discovery and Adventure.* Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 2 vols., Bentley, 1878. [Lieutenant Conder's personal history of the work of the Survey of Western Palestine undertaken by the Palestine Exploration Fund.]

—— and H. H. KITCHENER, *Map of Western Palestine,* in 26 sheets, each sheet accompanied by a memoir showing the scientific results attained by the Survey, 1880.

TRISTRAM, H. B., *The Topography of the Holy Land, a succinct account of all the places, rivers, and mountains of the land of Israel mentioned in the Bible, so far as they have been identified, together with their modern names and historical references,* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 12mo, 1876. [An excellent handbook.]

GUÉRIN, VICTOR, *La Terre Sainte, son Histoire, ses Souvenirs, ses Sites, ses Monuments,* vol. i., Paris, folio, 1882; vol. ii., Paris, folio, 1884,—*Liban, Phénicie, Pétra, Sinai,*

Egypte. [A magnificent book, richly illustrated, containing the narrative of personal travel and research.]

TRUMBULL, H. C., *Kadesh-Barnea, its Importance and Probable Site, with the Story of a Hunt for it, including Studies of the Route of the Exodus, and the Southern Boundary of the Holy Land,* New York 1884. [A fascinating story of indefatigable research.]

NAVILLE, ED., *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus,* with 13 plates and 2 maps, Trübner, 1885, 4to. [The first publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund, with a story of its first excavations; important.]

(3.) *On Natural History of the Bible.*

TRISTRAM, H. B., *The Natural History of the Bible, being a Review of the Physical Geography, Geology, and Meteorology of the Holy Land, with a description of every animal and plant mentioned in Holy Scripture,* Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1st edit. 1867, 12mo, 2nd edit., revised and corrected, 1868. [Excellent.]

DUNS, JOHN, *Biblical Natural Science, being the explanation of all references in Holy Scripture to Geology, Botany, Zoology, and Physical Geography, illustrated by maps and numerous woodcuts,* 2 vols. 4to, Mackenzie, no date. [Follows the order of the books of the Bible, dealing with each natural fact as it arises; a useful and scholarly book.]

(4.) *On the Social Life of the Bible.*

JAMIESON, ROBERT, *Eastern Manners, Old and New Testament,* new edit., 2 vols. 12mo, Edinburgh 1859. [Suggestive.]

WILKINSON'S *Manners and Customs of Egyptians,* see § 26, Egypt.

LANE, E. W., *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, written in Egypt during the years* 1833, 1834, *and* 1835, *partly from notes made during a former visit to that country in the years* 1825–1828, *5th edit., with numerous additions and improvements, from a copy annotated by the author, edited by his nephew,*

Edward Stanley Poole, 2 vols. 12mo, Murray, 1871. [Very useful because of the similarity of Oriental life in the past and in the present.]

VAN LENNEP, H. J., *Bible Lands: their Modern Customs and Manners illustrative of Scripture*, New York 1875. [Admirable.]

STAINER, J., *The Music of the Bible, with an account of the development of modern musical instruments from ancient types*, Novello, 12mo, 1879. [Excellent.]

(5.) *On the Politics of the Bible.*

MICHAELIS, J. D., *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, translated from the German by Alexander Smith*, 4 vols., 1814. [Still the best book on the legislation of Moses as a whole.]

MADDEN, F. W., *Coins of the Jews*, with 279 woodcuts and a plate of alphabets, Trübner, 1881, 4to. [The best book on Jewish numismatology.]

(6.) *On the Religious Life of the Bible.*

NOTE.—Tolerably complete surveys of the literature of this subject will be found in the author's *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, T. & T. Clark, 1877, especially in the footnotes on pp. 59, 64, 69, 76, and in pp. 220–257. A few monographs only of more recent date are given here.

FERGUSSON, J., *The Temple from Solomon to Saladin*, Murray, 1877. [Architectural.]

ATWATER, E., *History and Significance of the Sacred Tabernacle of the Hebrews*, New York 1877. [An able and scholarly examination of the details and significance of the structure and services of the Tabernacle.]

SPIESS, F., *Der Tempel zu Jerusalem während des letzten Jahrhunderts seines Bestandes nach Josephus*, Berlin 1880. [A careful description of the Herodian temple gathered from Josephus.]

PAILLOUX, XAVIER, *Monographie du Temple de Solomon*, Paris, folio, 1885. [A monument of research—carefully illustrated with plates—into the structure of the temple of Solomon as it is described in Kings and Chronicles, with equally careful descriptions of the temple of Ezekiel,

the Second Temple, and the temple of Herod: of considerable value in questions of higher criticism.]

(7.) *On the Chronology of the Bible.*

SCALIGER, J. J., *De Emendatione Temporum*, Paris, folio, 1583; enlarged edit., Leyden 1598, Geneva 1629. [The foundation of the modern science of chronology.]

USSHER, JAS., *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti a prima mundi origine deducti una cum rerum Asiaticarum et Ægypticarum chronico a temporis historici principio*, 1st edit. folio, 1650-1654, reprinted in vols. x. and xi. of collected works, Dublin, 8vo, 1847, etc.; also compare his posthumous *Chronologia Sacra* in vols. xi. and xii. of collected works. [Still a standard work, the dates of which somehow head the pages of the Authorized Version.]

VIGNOLLES, ALPHONSE DE, *Chronologie de l'histoire sainte, et des histoires étrangères qui la concernent, depuis la sortie d'Egypte jusqu'à la captivité de Babylone*, 2 vols. 4to, Berlin 1738. [In six books full of curious researches which afford precise data for the chronology of the Old Testament.]

JACKSON, JOHN, *Chronological Antiquities, or the Antiquities and Chronology of the most Ancient Kingdoms, from the Creation of the World, for the space of five thousand years*, 3 vols. 4to, 1752. [The 1st vol. deals with the chronological antiquities of the Old Testament.]

HALES, WM., *A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy; in which their elements are attempted to be explained, harmonized, and vindicated upon Scriptural and scientific principles, tending to remove the imperfection and discordance of preceding systems, and to obviate the cavils of sceptics, Jews, and infidels, 2nd edit. corrected and improved*, 4 vols., 1830. [A standard work, which, after giving the elements of technical and historical chronology, strives to analyse the sacred chronology from the creation to the beginning of the kingdom of God in heaven.]

WIESELER, K., *Chronologische Synopse der Evangelien*, Hamburg 1843, translated under the title, *A Chronological Synopsis of the Four Gospels*, Bell & Daldy, 1864. [Not wholly superseded by Caspari.]

LEWIN, THOS., *Fasti Sacri, or a Key to the Chronology of the New Testament, comprising an historical harmony of the Four Gospels, and chronological tables generally from* B.C. 70 *to* A.D. 70; with a preliminary dissertation on the chronology of the New Testament, and other aids to the elucidation of the subject, 8vo, Longmans, 1865. [Indispensable.]

CASPARI, C. E., *Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu*, Hamburg 1869, translated by M. J. Evans under the title of *A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ*, T. & T. Clark, 1876. [The best book on its subject.]

SMITH, GEO., *The Assyrian Eponym Canon*, containing translations of the documents, and an account of the evidence, on the comparative chronology of the Assyrian and Jewish kingdoms, from the death of Solomon to Nebuchadnezzar, Bagster, 1875. [Shows the light thrown by cuneiform inscriptions upon early chronology; quotes more than 300 Assyrian documents.]

RASKA, J., *Die Chronologie der Bibel im Einklange mit der Zeitrechnung der Egypter und Assyrier*, 1878. [Maintains the authority of the Biblical dates, and appends a valuable synchronistical table of the kings of Judah, Israel, Assyria, and Egypt according to Ptolemy's canon.]

SCHÄFER, ALOYS, *Die Biblische Chronologie vom Auszuge aus Ægypten bis zum Beginne des Babylonischen Exil's mit Berucksichtigung der Resultate der Ægyptologie und Assyriologie*, Münster 1879. [Endeavours to synchronize the Biblical, Egyptian, and Assyrian chronologies.]

FLOIGL, V., *Die Chronologie der Bibel des Manetho und Beros*, Leipsic 1880. [Holds that the controversy concerning the Biblical and Assyrian chronologies will only be solved when the correct interpretation of the cuneiform texts is shown to agree with the statements of Berosus, Menander, and Manetho.]

SUBDIVISION VIII.: BIBLICAL HISTORY, §§ 60, 61.

§ 60.

DEFINITION, PROBLEM, DIVISION, AND HISTORY OF BIBLICAL HISTORY.

THE second science which results from the application of a scientific exegesis is Biblical history. Biblical history represents to the modern eye the several phases of life depicted in the Bible, the action of the nations who move there, the lives of the prominent Biblical leaders and their influence, the relations of the Biblical peoples to the world outside of Judaism and Christianity, in a word the entire development of the Biblical peoples. Biblical history strives to photograph for modern readers the changing yet important phases of the developing life of the people of God as told in the Old and New Testaments. All history is the revivification of a past development, and Biblical history is a revivification of the development of those who were selected by God to be the organs of His revelation. By a minute search of the original sources given in the books of the Bible, which utilizes at the same time all that the art and aptitude of a genuine historical sense can supply, as well as all extant contemporary or early profane accounts of the same phases of life, together with the testimony of any written records of the past carved in stone or impressed upon metal, the PROBLEM of Biblical history is to resuscitate the life and times of an Abraham, a Moses, a David, an Isaiah, an apostle Paul.

From the nature of the case, Biblical history DIVIDES itself into three principal epochs, viz., *first*, the history of the old covenant; *secondly*, the life of Christ; and *thirdly*, the apostolic history. The first epoch again may be advantageously divided into (1) the patriarchal age, from Adam to Moses; (2) the days

of the judges, from Moses to Samuel; (3) the days of the undivided monarchy, from Samuel to the death of Solomon; (4) the days of the divided monarchy, from Solomon to the exile; (5) the exile; and (6) post-exilic Judaism, reaching to the public ministry of Christ.

The HISTORY again of this study will be sufficiently presented by the chronological arrangement to be presently given of the most prominent books upon the subject.

§ 61.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL HISTORY.

I. *Introductory.*

MACLEAR, G. F., *A Class-Book of Old Testament History*, with maps, 16mo, Macmillan, 1883. [Summarizes the history from creation to the close of the Old Testament canon.] Also *A Class-Book of New Testament History*, with maps, 16mo, new edition, Macmillan, 1882. [Summarizes the history of the Jews from the close of the Old Testament canon to the coming of Christ, and then gives the gospel history and the apostolic.]

SMITH, PHILIP, *The Student's Manual of Old Testament History, from the Creation of the World to the Return of the Jews from Captivity, with an Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament, with maps and woodcuts*, Murray, 1865; also *The Student's Manual of New Testament History, with an Introduction containing the connection of the Old and New Testaments*, Murray, 1862.

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Old Testament History.*

STANLEY, A. P., *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, 1st edit. of the first series, Murray, 1862, various editions since: now in 3 vols., the first dealing with the history from Abraham to Samuel, 4th edit. 1866; the second dealing with the history from Samuel to the captivity, 2nd edit. 1866; and the third dealing with the history from the captivity to the Christian era, 2nd edit. 1877. [Marked by all the beauty of style and

vividness of historical sense of the author, but somewhat rationalistic.]

EWALD, H., *Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* 3rd edit., Göttingen 1864–1868: 1st vol., *Einleitung in die Geschichte des Volkes Israel;* 2nd vol., *Geschichte Mose's und der Gottherrschaft in Israel;* 3rd vol., *Geschichte David's und der Königsherrschaft in Israel;* appendix to 2nd and 3rd vols., *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel;* 4th vol., *Geschichte Ezra's und der Heiligherrschaft in Israel bis Christus;* 5th vol., *Geschichte Christus' und seiner Zeit;* 6th vol., *Geschichte des Apostolischen Zeitalter bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems;* 7th vol., *Geschichte der Ausgänge des Volkes Israels und des nachapostolischen Zeitalters;* translated by J. E. Carpenter in 5 vols., under title of *The History of Israel* by Ewald, the supplementary volume being translated by Solly in one volume under the title of *The Antiquities of Israel,* Longmans, 1871, etc. [A work of genius, but must be used with caution because of the peculiar critical views of the author.]

GRÄTZ, H., *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart,* in 11 vols., 2nd edit., Leipsic 1864–1870. [A standard book written by a learned Jew.]

KURTZ, J. H., *Geschichte des Alten Bundes,* 3rd and 2nd edits., 2 vols., Berlin 1865, 1858; also translated by Edersheim and Martin under the title of *History of the Old Covenant,* 3 vols., T. & T. Clark. [Able studies of the Patriarchal Age, Israel in Egypt, and Israel in the Desert, to which the translators have prefixed a condensed abstract of Kurtz's suggestive essay on "The Bible and Astronomy."]

MILMAN, H. H., *The History of the Jews from the Earliest Period down to Modern Times,* 4th edit., revised and corrected, in 3 vols. 16mo, Murray, 1866. [Vol. i., with a good preface, treats of the history from the Patriarchal Age to the Captivity; vol. ii., from the Captivity to the Fall of Jerusalem; and vol. iii., of the history of the Jews in their relations with Christianity, the Barbarians, and Mohammedanism, of the Jews in England, Spain, and Italy, and of modern Judaism: a good popular book.]

HENGSTENBERG, E. W., *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes unter dem Alten Bunde*, 2 vols., Berlin 1870–71; translated under the title of *History of the Kingdom of God under the Old Testament*, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1871. [Able lectures to university classes.]

HITZIG, F., *Geschichte des Volkes Israel von Anbeginn bis zur Eroberung Masada's im Jahre 72 nach Christus*, 2 vols., Leipsic 1869. [One of the more important works of the learned author; it is divided into six books, pp. 1–320 giving the history to the end of the Persian supremacy, and pp. 321–629 the time from Alexander the Great to 72 A.D.]

STADE, BERNHARD, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel, mit Illustrationen und Karten*, parts 1 and 2, Berlin 1881, part 3, 1884; incomplete. [Forms part of Oncken's admirable *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen;* has an excellent introduction, examines the sources of the pre-exilic history, and gives the history itself to the time of Solomon; especially strong in its history of Israel's faith.]

SIME, JAS., *The Kingdom of All-Israel, its History, Literature, and Worship*, Nisbet, 1883. [The history of the reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, admirably done, with reference throughout to the results of recent criticism.]

KÖHLER, AUGUST, *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Geschichte Alten Testaments*, 1st half, Erlangen 1875, 2nd half, first part, 1884. [Narrates the history of the kingdom of God under the old covenant to the close of Solomon's reign, devoting much attention to the Mosaic legislation, and giving large references to related literature and recent critical views.]

(2.) *History of Jews from the Close of the Old Testament to the Commencement of the New.*

PRIDEAUX, HUMPHREY, *The Old and New Testament connected in the History of the Jews and Neighbouring Nations from the Declension of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Time of Christ*, 1st edit. 1716, in 3 vols. 8vo and 2 vols.

folio; the best edition is the 11th, 2 parts in 4 vols., 1749. [Still the standard book on its subject.]

JOST, J. M., *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Secten*, 3 vols., Leipsic 1857–59. [A highly-prized Jewish work.]

WELLHAUSEN, J., *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer, eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte*, Greifswald 1874. [An examination of the essential characteristics of these two parties.]

LUCIUS, P. E., *Der Essenismus in seinem Verhältniss zum Judenthum*, Strassburg 1881. [A good book on the Essenes.]

MONTET, EDOUARD, *Essai sur les Origines des parties Saducéen et Pharisien, et leur histoire jusqu'à la naissance de Jésus Christ*, Paris 1883. [Shows intimate knowledge of the sources of information and the related literature.]

(3.) *The Life of Christ.*

NOTE.—For additional chronological studies see § 59 (7.), especially CASPARI.

PAULUS, H. E. G., *Das Leben Jesu, als Grundlage einer reinen Geschichte des Urchristenthums, dargestellt durch eine allgemeinverständliche Geschichterzählung über alle Abschnitte der vier Evangelien und eine wortgetreue, durch Zwischensätze erklärte Uebersetzung des nach der Zeitfolge und synoptisch-geordneten Textes derselben*, 2 vols., Heidelberg 1828. [Attempts to explain the life of Christ on purely natural grounds, the miracles being regarded as misinterpreted natural phenomena.]

STRAUSS, D. F., *Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet*, 2 vols., Tübingen, 1st edit. 1835, 4th edit. 1840, translated under the title, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, 3 vols., 1846; also *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet*, Leipsic 1864, translated under the title of *A New Life of Jesus*, 2 vols., Williams & Norgate, 1865. [Another attempt to explain the life of Christ on purely natural grounds, the miraculous being regarded in this case as myth which has accreted round a kernel of fact.]

HASE, KARL, *Das Leben Jesu*, Leipsic 1829, 7th edit. 1875,

translated by J. Freeman Clarke, 12mo, Boston 1860. [A brilliant compendium of the life of Christ for theological students, peculiarly rich in its references to related literature under every head, but falling short of catholic views on the deity of Christ.]

NEANDER, AUG., *Das Leben Jesu Christi*, Gotha 1837, 7th edit. 1873, translated by John M'Clintock and C. E. Blumenthal under the title of *The Life of Jesus Christ in its Historical Connection and Historical Development*, Bohn 1853. [Written in reply to Strauss; it also excels in vivid and spiritual interpretation of the life of Christ.]

LANGE, J. P., *Das Leben Jesu nach den Evangelien*, 3 vols., Heidelberg 1844–47, translated by Sophia Taylor and J. E. Ryland under the title of *The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ: a complete critical examination of the origin, contents, and connection of the Gospels*, 4 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1872. [Stands in the front rank of lives of Christ; it first presents the life of Christ as given in the four Gospels together, and then as given by each Gospel separately from its peculiar standpoint.]

HERVEY, ARTHUR, *The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, reconciled with each other, and with the genealogy of the House of David, from Adam to the close of the Canon of the Old Testament, and shown to be in harmony with the true chronology of the times*, Macmillan, 1853. [The standard book on its subject.]

HOFMANN, R., *Das Leben Jesu nach den Apocryphen*, Leipsic 1851. [Useful as a guide to the apocryphal lives of Jesus.]

RIGGENBACH, C. J., *Vorlesungen über das Leben des Herrn Jesu*, Bâle 1858. [Popular lectures, marked by accuracy, grace, reverence, and spiritual discernment.]

ELLICOTT, C. J., *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, Hulsean Lectures for 1859, 5th edit. revised, 1869. [Shows most suggestively the historical connection of the events in the life of Christ, and gives approximately their true chronological positions to the several discourses of Jesus.]

RENAN, ERNEST, *Vie de Jésus*, 1st edit., Paris 1863, 17th edit., revised and augmented (a reprint of the 13th edition, which was materially altered), 1882; several English translations have appeared in New York and in London. [The view of a Frenchman and an anti-supernaturalist, containing incidentally many beautiful descriptions of the scenes of Christ's life.]

ANDREWS, S. J., *The Bible Student's Life of our Lord, in its Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Relations*, 12mo, Strahan, 1867. [A very useful and unvarnished summary of present knowledge, arranged according to year and day.]

SCHENKEL, D., *Das Charakterbild Jesu wissenschaftlich untersucht und dargestellt*, Wiesbaden, 1st edit. 1864, 4th edit. 1873, translated under the title, *A Sketch of the Character of Jesus, a Biblical Essay*, Longmans, 1869. [Another anti-supernatural study.]

ZUMPT, A. W., *Das Geburtsjahr Christi, geschichtlich-chronologische Untersuchungen*, Leipsic 1869. [Important.]

JAMESON, MRS., *The History of our Lord as exemplified in Works of Art, with that of His Types, St. John the Baptist and other Persons of the Old and New Testament, continued and completed by Lady Eastlake*, 2 vols., Longmans, 1864. [A fascinating branch of the author's well-known studies of Christian art.]

Ecce Homo, a Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ, 5th edit., with new preface, Macmillan, 1866. [Striking, but professedly fragmentary; especially suggestive in its treatment of the legislation of Jesus.]

PARKER, JOSEPH, *Ecce Deus, Essays on the Life and Doctrine of Jesus Christ, with controversial notes on "Ecce Homo,"* T. & T. Clark, 1867; cheaper edition, in 12mo, Hodder, 1868. [A series of brilliant essays on the supernatural side of the life of Jesus.]

STEINMEYER, F. L., *Apologetische Beiträge*, i. *Die Wunderthaten des Herrn*, Berlin 1866; ii. *Die Leidengeschichte des Herrn*, 1868; iii. *Die Auferstehungsgeschichte*, 1871; iv. *Die Geschichte der Geburt des Herrn und seiner ersten Schritte im Leben*, 1873. [A series of sermons by this

eloquent University preacher, deserving, however, of close study for their able defence of evangelical Christianity.]

KEIM, THEODOR, *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara in ihrer Verkettung mit dem Gesammtleben seines Volkes frei untersucht und ausführlich erzählt*, 3 vols., Zürich 1867–72, translated by Arthur Ransom under the title of *The History of Jesus of Nazara, freely investigated in its connection with the national life of Israel and related in detail*, 6 vols., 1873–83. [Noteworthy for its research, but pronounced in its rationalism, despite its claim to be unbiassed.]

WITTICHEN, CARL, *Das Leben Jesu in urkundlicher Darstellung, eine kritische Bearbeitung der Evangelien nach Markus, Matthæus und Lucas, mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen*, Jena 1876. [Allows the Gospels to speak for themselves, but coloured throughout by the peculiar critical views of the author.]

SCHUERER, E., *Lehrbuch der Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, Leipsic 1873. [All that a handbook should be.]

FARRAR, F. W., *The Life of Christ*, 2 vols., Cassell, 1st edit. 1876; many editions since. [An eloquent and popular presentation of the gospel statements, harmonized and illustrated from archæology; weak in its criticism.]

GEIKIE, CUNNINGHAM, *The Life and Words of Christ*, 2 vols. 4to, Strahan, 1878, and various editions since. [The best descriptive life yet written in English; strong in its knowledge of contemporary history and archæology.]

Philochristus, Memoirs of a Disciple of the Lord, Macmillan, 1878. [A beautiful romance, supposed to be written by a contemporary of Jesus; marred by its rationalism.]

HAUSRATH, A., *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte, Part* 1, *Die Zeit Jesu*, 3rd edit., Münich 1879; translated under the title, *History of the New Testament Times*, 2 vols., Williams & Norgate, 1882. [Must be used with caution.]

PRESSENSÉ, E. DE, *Jesus Christ, His Times, Life, and Work, translated from the French by Annie Harwood-Holmden*, 7th edit. unabridged, Hodder, 1879, 12mo. [Interestingly written and scholarly, expounding everywhere the supernatural side of the life of Jesus.]

FAIRBAIRN, A. M., *Studies in the Life of Christ*, Hodder, 1881. [Has a beautiful style; learned and reverent; weak in its views of the significance of the death of Christ.]

WEISS, BERNH., *Das Leben Jesu*, 2 vols., Berlin 1882, 2nd edit. 1884, translated by J. W. Hope under the title of *The Life of Christ*, 3 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1883–84. [Fearless in criticism, yet positive and evangelical in teaching.]

EDERSHEIM, ALFRED, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols., Longmans, 1884. [The object, says the writer, is "to view the life and teaching of Christ in its surroundings of place, society, popular life, and intellectual or moral development;" strong in its knowledge of rabbinical literature.]

(4.) *The History of the Apostles.*

NEANDER, A., *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel*, 1st edit. 1832, 5th edit. 1863, Gotha, translated by J. E. Ryland under the title, *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles*, Bell & Daldy, 2 vols., 1864. [Excellent.]

RENAN, ERNEST, *Les Apôtres*, Paris 1866. [Carries on the history of the origins of Christianity to the conversion of Paul.]

—— *Saint Paul, avec une carte des voyages de Saint Paul par Kiepert*, Paris 1869. [Written, like the preceding, with great charm of style, but from the well-known rationalistic and French standpoint of the author.]

BAUR, F. C., *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi, sein Leben und Wirken, seine Briefe und seine Lehre, ein Beitrag zu einer kritischen Geschichte des Urchristenthums*, 2nd edit., edited after the death of the author by E. Zeller, 2 vols., Leipsic 1866–67, translated by A. Menzies under the title, *Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, his Life and Works, his Epistles and Teachings, a Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity*, Williams & Norgate, 2 vols., 1873–75. [Advocates the so-called Tübingen theory of the life and work of Paul.]

CONYBEARE, W. J., and J. S. HOWSON, *The Life and Epistles of Paul*, revised edition in 2 vols. 4to, Longmans, 1875, the translation of the epistles and speeches of St. Paul being contributed by Conybeare, and the historical and geographical part of the work by Howson. This library edition contains all the original illustrations, maps, landscapes on steel, and woodcuts. An intermediate edition has been published in 2 vols. square crown 8vo, with a selection of maps, plates, and woodcuts; and a popular edition in 2 vols. 8vo, also in 1 vol. 8vo, revised and condensed, with 46 illustrations and maps. [Aims very successfully at giving a living picture of St. Paul and of his environment.]

LEWIN, THOS., *The Life and Epistles of Saint Paul*, 4th edit., revised, 2 vols. 4to, 1878, George Bell & Sons. [Not so popular as Conybeare's life, but stronger in its chronology, archæology, illustrations, and historical setting.]

MACDONALD, J. M., *The Life and Writings of St. John, edited with an Introduction by J. S. Howson*, Hodder, 1879. [An excellent book.]

PRESSENSÉ, E. DE, *The Early Years of Christianity; a Comprehensive History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church, translated by Annie Harwood-Holmden*, vol. i. *The Apostolic Age*, Hodder, 1879. [Not a mere translation of the French edition, but the presentation of that work in a considerably altered form; an excellent survey of the history and teaching of the Apostolic Age.]

FARRAR, F. W., *The Life and Work of St. Paul*, 2 vols., with coloured maps, Cassell, 1879. [Does not compete in historical lore with Conybeare and Lewin, but has a distinct purpose "to give a definite, accurate, and intelligible impression of St. Paul's teaching."]

—— *The Early Days of Christianity*, 2 vols., Cassell, 1882. [Attempts to set forth, in their distinctive characteristics, the work and the writings of St. Peter, St. James, St. Jude, St. John, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.]

SMITH, JAMES, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul, with Dissertations on the Life and Writings of St. Luke and the Ships and Navigation of the Ancients*, 4th edit., revised and corrected by W. E. Smith, Longmans, 1880. [Really a most minute corroboration, by original research, of the narrative in the Acts.]

SCHAFF, PHILIP, *History of the Christian Church, Apostolic Christianity*, in 2 vols., a new edition, thoroughly revised and enlarged, T. & T. Clark, 1883. [The best survey of the period in English.]

HOWSON, J. S., *Horæ Petrinæ, or Studies in the Life of St. Peter*, Religious Tract Society, 1883. [Popular but exact.]

SUBDIVISION IX.: BIBLICAL LITERARY CRITICISM, §§ 62, 63.

§ 62.

DEFINITION, PROBLEM, DIVISION, AND HISTORY OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

A THIRD science which results from attending to another important series of data afforded by Biblical exegesis, and a series which it is desirable to treat separately, is Biblical literary criticism, as the science is called for want of a better name. This literary criticism of the Bible must not be confounded with its textual criticism. Biblical literary criticism is more nearly allied in fact to Biblical canonics, the latter dealing with the external evidence for the various books of Scripture, whereas the former deals with the internal evidence. In other words, Biblical literary criticism tests by internal evidence the truth as to the Biblical statements concerning the authorship and contents of the several books of the Bible. To this literary examination of the Biblical books the name of the "higher criticism" is frequently applied, the criticism of the text of Scripture being designated the lower criticism.

The science then of Biblical literary criticism, which endeavours to criticise the statements of Scripture by those statements, has a difficult but important PROBLEM to solve. Comparison, subtle and extended, is the very essence of literary criticism, and by all means of comparison,—by confronting statement with statement, by confronting the implications of a statement in one place with the implications of a statement in another, by disclosing all the deeper harmonies of truth, and penetrating the less superficial contradictions of error, by applying everywhere the well-known canon that veracity and inconsistency are incompatible,—Biblical literary

criticism aims at declaring the reliableness or unreliableness of Scripture. Scripture is put into the witness-box and severely questioned and cross-questioned with a view to testing its *bona fides*. Dealing with the books of the Bible individually, Biblical literary criticism strives to ascertain from the evidence of the books themselves critically regarded, on the one hand, whether they are *genuine*, as the technical term runs, that is, whether they were written by the persons whose names they bear and at the time when they profess to have been written; and, on the other hand, whether they are *authentic*, as the other technicality runs, that is, whether they are historically reliable and relate matters of fact as they actually happened. A deliverance upon the credibility of each book of Scripture is the goal of the science; criticism is its method.

Strictly speaking, the DIVISION of the science would arrange itself according to the several books of Scripture. At present, however, by no means the same minuteness of criticism has been brought to bear upon all the books of Scripture. The fiercest warfare hitherto has raged around the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Daniel, Zechariah, the Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Some examination, however, has necessarily been given to each of the books of the Bible in works dealing with what we have called special introduction.

To write a HISTORY of the contributions made throughout the course of the Christian Church to Biblical literary criticism would involve a treatment disproportionate to the plan of this book. The three great epochs in the history of our science were, however, first, the years of rationalism, which concentrated its fire upon the supernatural assertions of law and gospel; secondly, the criticism of Strauss, which turned its guns mainly upon the Gospels; and thirdly, a further influence of Hegel, seen in the attacks of the so-called Tübingen school, who endeavoured to explain all the phenomena of the New Testament according to a principle of natural development. All needful additional information will be found in the next section.

§ 63.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

I. *Introductory.*

NOTE.—Much information upon this subject is given in the works named in § 54, and the introductory books there recommended form the best introduction to this section also.

BOYCE, W. B., *The Higher Criticism and the Bible, a Manual for Students*, Wesleyan Conference Office, 1881. [Covers the entire ground of the higher criticism of the Old and New Testaments.]

BRIGGS, C. A., *Biblical Study*, New York, and T. & T. Clark, 1883. [The seventh chapter contains an excellent survey of the higher criticism.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

NOTE.—We only deal here with the questions concerning the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the Pauline Epistles; a separate literature having sprung up around each of these centres. For various views as to the authorship of the other historical, prophetical, and apostolic books, the student should refer both to works on specific introduction named in § 54, and to the prefatory sections given in the commentaries named in § 57.

(1.) *On the Pentateuch Question* (including Joshua).

NOTE.—Good historical surveys of the course of opinion upon the authorship and authenticity of the Pentateuch, from different standpoints, will be found in Knobel's *Kritik des Pentateuch und Josua*, an appendix to his *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua erklärt*, the 13th part of the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, Leipsic 1861; in Wellhausen's edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, §§ 32–34 and 81–87, Berlin 1878 (the history after Bleek's death being carried on by Kuenen and Wellhausen); in Keil's *Introduction*, §§ 36–39; and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Pentateuch" (by Wellhausen), vol. xviii. Only important recent works, or works in English, are added below.

MACDONALD, DONALD, *Introduction to the Pentateuch, an Inquiry, Critical and Doctrinal, into the Genuineness, Authority, and Design of the Mosaic Writings*, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1861. [Maintains Mosaic authorship.]

COLENSO, J. W., *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, 6 parts, 1862–72, Longmans. [Anti-Mosaic.]

ARNAUD, E., *Le Pentateuque Mosaique défendu contre les attaques de la critique négative*, Strasburg 1865.

GRAVES, R., *Lectures on the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch, designed to show the Divine Origin of the Jewish Religion, chiefly from Internal Evidence, in three parts*,—1. *The Authenticity and Truth of the History*; 2. *The Theological, Moral, and Political Principles of the Jewish Law*; 3. *Review of the Effects of Judaism as Preparatory to Christianity*, 10th edit., Bohn, 1865.

QUARRY, JOHN, *Genesis and its Authorship*; *Two Dissertations*, —1. *On the Import of the Introductory Chapters of the Book of Genesis*; 2. *On the Use of the Names of God in the Book of Genesis, and on the Unity of its Authorship*, Williams & Norgate, 1866. [Maintains Mosaic authorship.]

KUENEN, A., *The Religion of Israel to the Fall of the Jewish State, translated from the Dutch by Alfred Heath May*, 3 vols., Williams & Norgate, 1874–75. [Maintains the post-exilic origin of the Pentateuch.]

CURTISS, S. I., *The Levitical Priests, a Contribution to the Criticism of the Pentateuch*, T. & T. Clark, 1877, 12mo. [Controverts the post-exilic origin.]

Deuteronomy, The People's Book, its Origin and Nature, a Defence, Daldy, Isbister, 1877, 12mo. [Controverts the views of Kuenen on Deuteronomy.]

WELLHAUSEN, J., *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i., Berlin 1878, 2nd edit. 1883, translated and edited by J. Robertson Smith under the title of *The History of Israel*, Edinburgh 1885. [Follows Kuenen in maintaining the post-exilic origin of the law.]

REUSS, E., *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi, Introduction*, Paris 1879, part of his *La Bible*,—see § 57 (1.). [A lengthy examination which, after presenting the history of the Pentateuch

controversy, maintains the development theory of Kuenen.]

BREDENKAMP, C. J., *Gesetz und Propheten, ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Kritik,* Erlangen 1881. [Attacks the theory of Wellhausen and Kuenen.]

SMITH, W. ROBERTSON, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church,* Twelve Lectures on Biblical Criticism, Edinburgh 1881. [The last four lectures advocate the post-exilic authorship of the law.]

WATTS, ROBERT, *The Newer Criticism and the Analogy of the Faith, a Reply to Lectures by W. Robertson Smith on the Old Testament in the Jewish Church,* T. & T. Clark, 1881, 3rd edit. 1883.

GREEN, WM. HENRY, *Moses and the Prophets,* New York 1883. [Able reviews of the theories of Kuenen and Robertson Smith.]

ROOS, FR., *Die Geschichtlichkeit des Pentateuchs insbesondere seiner Gesetzgebung, eine Prüfung der Wellhausen'schen Hypothese,* Stuttgart 1883. [Examines the several points of Wellhausen's history of the Jewish cultus and of his literary criticism.]

BOEHL, EDWARD, *Zum Gesetz und zum Zeugniss, eine Abwehr wider die neu-kritische Schriftforschung im Alten Testament,* Vienna 1883. [Seven sections—on the law, the covenant, parallels from Church history, the prophets, the modern conception of the Old Testament generally, the *pia fraus,* and the literary analysis in modern criticism.]

SIME, JAS., see § 61 (1.).

BUDDE, KARL, *Die Biblische Urgeschichte, Gen.* i.–xii. 5, *Untersucht,* Giessen 1883. [Attempts to analyse the narrative of Genesis prior to the migration of Abraham, so as to show the variety of its sources in the interests of the theory of Wellhausen.]

KOENIG, F. E., *Die Hauptprobleme der altisraelitischen Religionsgeschichte, gegenüber den Entwickelungstheoretikern beleuchtet,* Leipsic 1884, translated by A. J. Campbell under the title, *The Religious History of Israel, a Discussion of the Chief Problems in Old Testament History as*

opposed to the Development Theorists, T. & T. Clark, 1885. [Controverts the views popularized by Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Robertson Smith.]

(2.) *On the Critical Questions attaching to the Gospels.*

NOTE.—The best survey of the various attacks made upon the Gospels, their genuineness and authenticity, and of the replies these attacks have called forth is, in the judgment of the author, to be found in the two first chapters of the second book of Carl Schwartz's *Zur Geschichte der Neuesten Theologie*, 4th edit., Leipsic 1869. One chapter deals with the impulse originating in Strauss, and the other chapter traces the history of the impulse imparted by Baur and the so-called Tübingen School. English readers will also find a briefer and less philosophical statement in Dr. Abbott's article on the "Gospels" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, edit. ix. vol. x. pp. 841, 842. Here recent German works and various English works are alone given.

EBRARD, J. H. A., *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangelischen Geschichte*, 3rd edit., Frankfort 1868.

ORR, JAMES, *Authenticity of St. John's Gospel deduced from Internal Evidence*, Williams & Norgate, 1870.

LEATHES, STANLEY, *The Witness of St. John to Christ, with an Appendix on the Authenticity of John*, Boyle Lecture for 1870, Rivingtons, 1870.

SANDAY, W., *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, Macmillan, 1872. [Excellent.]

—— *The Gospels in the 2nd Century, an Examination of the Critical Part of "Supernatural Religion,"* Macmillan, 1876.

BEYSCHLAG, W., *Zur Johanneische Frage, Beiträge zur Würdigung des 4 Evangeliums*, Gotha 1876.

VOLKMAR, G., *Die Evangelien, oder Marcus und der Synopsis der kanonischen und auserkanonischen Evangelien nach der ältesten Text, mit historisch-exeget. Commentar*, Leipsic, 2nd edit. 1876.

UECHTRITZ, F. VON, *Studien über den Ursprung, die Beschaffenheit und Bedeutung des Evang. nach Johannes*, Gotha 1876.

WEISS, B., *Das Matthäus-Evangelium und seine Lukas-parallelen erklärt*, Halle 1876.

—— *Das Marcus-Evangelium und seine synoptische parallelen erklärt*, Berlin 1871.

Supernatural Religion, An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation, in 3 vols., complete edition, 7th, thoroughly revised, Longmans, 1879. [The second part examines the evidence as to the date, authorship, and character of the Gospels, and asserts its unreliableness.]

WESTCOTT, BROOKE FOSS, *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, fifth edition, 12mo, Macmillan, 1875. [The best book in English.]

TISCHENDORF, A. F. C., *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* 5th edit. 1880, translated by the Religious Tract Society under the title, *When were our Gospels written?*

THOMA, A., *Die Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums, ein Beitrag zu seiner Auslegung, Geschichte und Kritik*, Berlin 1882. [Excellent.]

KEPPLER, PAUL, *Die Composition des Johannes-Evangeliums*, Tübingen 1884. [Scholarly.]

(3.) *On the Critical Questions attaching to the Pauline Epistles.*

NOTE.—Consult MACKAY, R. W., *The Tübingen School and its Antecedents, a Review of the History and Present Condition of Modern Theology*, 12mo, Williams & Norgate, 1863 ; also Lecture VIII. in CHRISTLIEB, *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, 4th edit. 1879, T. & T. Clark.

HITZIG, F., *Zur Kritik Paulinische Briefe*, Leipsic 1870.

GLOAG, PATON, *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, T. & T. Clark, 1876. [Most useful.]

SUBDIVISION X.: BIBLICAL DOGMATICS, §§ 64, 65.

§ 64.

DEFINITION, PROBLEM, DIVISION, AND HISTORY OF BIBLICAL DOGMATICS.

A FOURTH theological discipline resulting from the application of a scientific exegesis is Biblical dogmatics, in which the doctrines of the Bible are inductively considered and compared. Biblical dogmatics is often called Biblical theology, and the name may be sometimes employed to advantage when the context makes the reference to doctrine and nothing but doctrine clear; but, as has been previously remarked more than once, the term Biblical theology has been used in a wider and a narrower sense; in a narrower where it is equivalent to the scientific study of the doctrines of the Bible, the discipline before us, and in a wider sense where the term is synonymous with the scientific study of the whole Bible, and therefore of very much more than its doctrines. To avoid this ambiguity, the term Biblical dogmatics has been selected for the narrower signification. It is true that Biblical dogmatics is not quite unexceptionable, because of the unfortunate idea of authority which attaches to the word dogma. However, it is scarcely necessary to add that dogma is used in its Protestant sense of "doctrine," the formulated statement of religious truth which at once summarizes and expresses the Biblical declarations. For Biblical dogmatics, the name Biblical doctrinal theology may be used if the reader is so inclined. At any rate Biblical dogmatics, preferable because of its greater brevity, is exactly synonymous with the doctrinal theology of the Bible.

The PROBLEM of Biblical dogmatics therefore is to solve the

question how to ascertain inductively, and to present, the doctrinal contents of Holy Scripture. By the nature of its method, which being inductive follows strictly the order of development of the Biblical books, Biblical dogmatics pursues a genetic or historical method. As a matter of fact, the doctrines of the Bible represent various phases of development, and those phases Biblical dogmatics must represent with accuracy if it would be faithful to its aim. It is true that this development in the delivery of Biblical doctrine has not always been understood, and thus in the early stages of the formulation of the science, the several Biblical doctrines were arranged rather under a subject than a time classification, the doctrine of God, for example, and the doctrine of sin, being presented without any reference whatever to more or less mature conceptions of the doctrine, but simply by placing side by side proof passages from Genesis or from Revelation. The whole course of Biblical dogmatics is to-day, with more justice, regarded as governed by a law of development. Judaism does not present a doctrinal form so mature as Christianity, and this relative immaturity appears in our science. The problem of Biblical dogmatics is, in fact, to present the several phases of Biblical revelation, observing everywhere the law of progress by which the Deity has bound Himself, without doubt wisely, in the delivery of truth to mankind.

The DIVISION therefore of Biblical dogmatics is primarily twofold. There is first *analytical* Biblical dogmatics, which presents the several phases of Biblical doctrine in their due order of development; and there is next *synthetical* Biblical dogmatics, which presents the higher unity of the several phases of Biblical doctrine, showing the organic connection throughout. Analytical Biblical dogmatics has again a twofold division; on the one hand, we have the Biblical dogmatics of the Old Testament, and on the other hand, the Biblical dogmatics of the New Testament. Each of these leading divisions has then various subdivisions. The dogmatics of the Old Testament must be treated under three branches, viz. first, the doctrines of the Patriarchal Age, from Adam to Moses; secondly, the doctrines of Mosaism and the law; and thirdly,

the doctrines of the Prophetic Age, the further revelations which were made by prophets from the death of Moses to the close of the Old Covenant. Again, the dogmatics of the New Testament must be treated under two branches, viz. first, the theology of Jesus Christ, and secondly, the theology of the apostles, which again falls into several groups, seeing that we have the theology of Peter, with whom James and Jude may be associated, the theology of Paul, and the theology of John. Analytical Biblical dogmatics having then presented the doctrines of the Bible in their consecution, synthetical Biblical dogmatics presents these doctrines in their higher organic unity. The whole scheme would run as follows:—

Biblical dogmatics is divided into—

I. An analytical part, subdividing into—
  1. The theology of the Old Testament.
    a. In the Patriarchal Age.
    b. In the life of Moses.
    c. From Moses to the close of the canon.
  2. The theology of the New Testament, viz.—
    a. The theology of Christ.
    b. The theology of the apostles, viz.—
      (1) Of Peter, James, and Jude.
      (2) Of Paul.
      (3) Of John.

II. A synthetical part, subdividing into—
  1. The Biblical doctrine of God.
  2. ,, ,, ,, ,, angels.
  3. ,, ,, ,, ,, creation.
  4. ,, ,, ,, ,, man.
  5. ,, ,, ,, ,, sin.
  6. ,, ,, ,, ,, Christ.
  7. ,, ,, ,, ,, salvation.
  8. ,, ,, ,, ,, the Church.
  9. ,, ,, ,, ,, the last things.

Turning to the HISTORY of the study of Biblical dogmatics, it may be said that, as an independent part of theological science, that study was but little prosecuted before the beginning of this century. In a sense, of course, the beginning of Biblical dogmatics was coeval with that of Christian theology, for the doctrines of the Bible have always been employed in controversy with heathen, heretics, and Jews.

However, as an independent part of theological science, Biblical dogmatics is scarcely a hundred years old. That the Middle Ages were not favourable to works on Biblical dogmatics is evident from the leading characteristics of that time. Even the Reformation had scarcely taught men to distinguish between doctrinal theology as such and the doctrinal theology of Scripture, whereas in the seventeenth century the boundary line between Biblical and confessional dogmatics became more and more confused. The seventeenth century was in fact too largely the time for an authoritative rather than a scientific method of interpretation to give birth to Biblical dogmatics. It needed the destructive criticism of the eighteenth century to lead men to ask not what was taught in their creeds, but what was taught in their Bibles. A purely Biblical tendency began to show itself strongly towards the middle of the eighteenth century,[1] as is evidenced by such works as Heyman's *Versuch einer Biblischen Theologie in Tabellen*, 4th edit. 1758, and Busching's *Epitome Theologiæ e solis litteris sacris concinnatæ*, Lemgo 1757, and as is yet more clearly evidenced in Zachariæ's *Biblische Theologie, oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten Theologischen Lehren*, 1st edit., Göttingen and Kiel 1771–1775, 3rd edit. 1786, and by Storr's *Doctrinæ Christianæ e solis litteris sacris repetitæ*, Stuttgart 1793. Heyman's and Busching's works were intended indeed for practical use purely, but they show the current of opinion; whereas Zachariæ's work marks an epoch in our science. Zachariæ understood by Biblical theology, in its narrower sense, "not that theology the substance of which is taken from Scripture, for in this sense every theological system must be Biblical, but more generally a precise definition of all the doctrines treated of in systematic theology, the correct meaning which, in accordance with Scripture, should be applied to them, and the best arguments in their defence." His was accordingly the first attempt to treat Biblical dogmatics as a distinct branch of theological science. The method of Zachariæ was followed by Storr, whose book was translated into German, with additions by

[1] See an excellent survey of the study of Biblical theology in Briggs, *Biblical Study*, New York and Edinburgh (T. & T. Clark) 1883, chapter xi.

C. Ch. Flatt, 1803, 1813, and thence into English, with additions by S. S. Schmucker, 1st American edit. 1826, 2nd 1836, this 2nd American edition having been reprinted in England. In both books the method of systematic theology was borrowed, and the several doctrines of Christianity were treated in order, without any respect to the development of doctrine. To some extent they are useful therefore in framing what has been called synthetical Biblical dogmatics; they are useless in obtaining a view of the analytical science. The next step necessary to start our science on a career of progressive improvement was to realize the progressive character of the Biblical revelation. This step was taken by a rationalist, J. Ph. Gabler, in his academical prelection, *De justo discrimine theologiæ biblicæ et dogmaticæ*, published in 4to at Altdorf, 1787. Gabler recognised in this discourse the historical character of Biblical theology, and demanded that regard should be had to the various Biblical forms of teaching, forms conditioned both by the individuality of the writers and the time of their writing. From the time of Gabler, and especially from the time of Neander's *History of the Planting of Christianity*, 1832, which so ably put Gabler's principle into practice, this conception of the various phases of Biblical doctrine has been recognised by all writers of note upon Biblical dogmatics. A further step yet remains to be taken. In the first phase of the separate prosecution of Biblical dogmatics, the synthetical method was followed without any recognition of the analytical. In the second phase, initiated by Gabler, the analytical method alone has been followed, and Schmidt and Oehler, Reuss and Schültz, Weiss and Kuenen, to mention prominent names only, have thought their task complete when they have presented the several phases of the doctrine of the Old or New Testament. Yet a third phase remains. Biblical dogmatics is the science of the doctrines contained in the Bible. A book is much wanted, which, profiting by all the labours of the past, shall present our science in its entire range, showing all that is known of the analytical part of our science, but showing at the same time the synthetical part also. The doctrines of Christ and His apostles, to say nothing of the doctrines of Moses and

the prophets, are only completely understood when they are presented in all their organic unity as well as historical diversity. The life-story of a tree is not known when we have separate descriptions of seed, and sapling, and trunk, and branches, and fruit; from these separate descriptions a unified idea must come if the whole life-story is to be intelligible.

§ 65.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED UPON BIBLICAL DOGMATICS.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

OOSTERZEE, J. J. VAN, *The Theology of the New Testament, a Handbook for Bible Students, translated from the Dutch by Maurice J. Evans,* Hodder, 1870, 12mo. [Really a good handbook to the whole range of the subject, because its first part treats of the Old Testament basis under the heads of Mosaism, Prophetism, Judaism, and John the Baptist.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Books on Biblical Dogmatics of both Old and New Testaments.*

HOFMANN, J. C. K. VON, *Der Schriftbeweis, Ein theologischer Versuch,* 2nd and largely altered edition, 3 vols., Nördlingen 1857–1860. [A very useful summary of the Biblical teaching on the whole range of doctrines, if used with care.]

EWALD, H., *Lehre der Bibel von Gott oder Theologie des Alten und Neuen Bundes,* 4 vols., Leipsic 1871–1876. [Also an important book, despite the individualism of treatment.]

—— *Revelation, its Nature and Record, translated from the German by Thomas Goadby,* T. & T. Clark, 1884. [The first volume of the preceding work.]

FAIRBAIRN, PATRICK, *The Typology of Scripture, viewed in connection with the whole series of the Divine Dispensations,* 6th edit., 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1876. [The best book on its subject; neither extravagant nor negative.]

(2.) *On Biblical Dogmatics of the Old Testament as a Whole.*

HAEVERNICK, H. A. C., *Vorlesungen über die Theologie des A. T.*, Erlangen 1848, 2nd edit., with notes by H. Schültz, Frankfort 1863. [Has many good points.]

SCHÜLTZ, H., *Alttestamentliche Theologie, Die Offenbarungsreligion auf ihrer vorchristlichen Entwickelungsstufe*, 2 vols., Frankfort 1869, 2nd edit. 1878. [An important book, coloured, however, by its critical views; the 2nd edition rearranges much of the material according to Graf's theory of Mosaism.]

OEHLER, G. F., *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1873, 1874; also *Prolegomena zur Theologie des A. T.*, Stuttgart 1845; the former translated by Ellen D. Smith and Sophia Taylor under the title of *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1874. [The best book on its subject.]

HITZIG, F., *Vorlesungen über Biblische Theologie und Messianische Weissagungen des Alten Testaments*, edited by Kneucker, Karlsruhe 1880. [A presentation, good but individual, of the history of the religious spirit in Israel.]

(3.) *On Parts of the Biblical Dogmatics of the Old Testament, especially Prophecy.*

HOFMANN, J. C. K. VON, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, Nördlingen 1841–1844. [A valuable contribution, which cleaves strongly everywhere to the place of prophecy in the development of divine revelation.]

LEE, SAM., *An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy, in three books,*—I. *On the Covenant;* II. *An Exposition of the Visions of the Prophet Daniel;* III. *An Exposition of the Revelation of St. John, to which is prefixed a Preface and Introduction in three parts,* —1. *On the principles of prophetical interpretation generally, and of those of Mr. Mede and his school in particular;* 2. *On those proposed by Dr. Todd, and on his application of these;* 3. *On those adopted in the following work, considered in connection with those of the*

early Church, Cambridge 1849. [A capital Biblical study.]

MAITLAND, CHAS., *The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation, with its History down to the present time*, Longmans, 1849. [Attempts to collect everything that the apostles taught on the subject of unfulfilled prophecy.]

DAVISON, JOHN, *Discourses on Prophecy, in which are considered its Structure, Use, and Inspiration, being the substance of Twelve Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn, in the Lecture founded . . . by Warburton*, 6th edit., Oxford 1856. [An admirable Biblical study.]

FAIRBAIRN, PATRICK, *Prophecy viewed in respect to its Distinctive Nature, its Special Function, and Proper Interpretation*, T. & T. Clark, 1856. [An able investigation of the principles of Biblical prophecy, and an exhaustive application of those principles to past and prospective fulfilments of prophecy.]

KÜPER, DR., *Das Priesterthum des alten Bundes*, Berlin 1866; also *Das Prophetenthum des alten Bundes, übersichtlich dargestellt*, Leipsic 1870. [Both excellent Biblical studies, the latter dealing with prophecy in general, and then with each group of prophecies *seriatim*.]

DUHM, BERNH., *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwickelungsgeschichte der Israelitischen Religion*, Bonn 1875. [An excellent book if mentally corrected for the critical standpoint of the author.]

KUENEN, A., *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel, a Historical and Critical Inquiry, translated from the Dutch by A. Milroy*, Longmans, 1877. [Attempts to explain Old Testament prophecy without the supernatural.]

KOENIG, F. E., *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols., Leipsic 1882. [A careful Biblical examination of the consciousness of the prophet, including that of the supernatural origin of his message.]

SMITH, W. R., *The Prophets of Israel and their Place in History to the close of the Eighth Century* B.C., eight Lectures, Edinburgh 1882. [An interesting monograph on one phase in the development of Old Testament prophecy.]

MAYBAUM, SIEGMUND, *Die Entwickelung des Israelitischen*

Prophetenthums, Berlin 1883. [Attempts to find the origin of Biblical prophecy in heathen soothsaying.]

(4.) *On Jewish Belief about the Time of the Birth of Christ.*

SURENHUSIUS, GULIELMUS, *Mischna, sive totius Hebræorum Juris Rituum, Antiquitatum, ac Legum Oralium Systema, etc.*, in six parts, Amsterdam 1698–1702. [The standard book on the Mishna.]

WOTTON, W., *Miscellaneous Discourses relating to the Traditions and Usages of the Scribes and Pharisees in our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ's Times*, in 2 vols., 1718. [A useful guide to the Mishna.]

STEHELIN, J. P., *The Traditions of the Jews, or the Doctrines and Expositions contained in the Talmud and other Rabbinical Writings, translated* [*and abridged*] *from the High-Dutch* [*of Buxtorf and Eisenmenger*], *to which is added a Preliminary Preface, or an Inquiry into the Origin, Progress, Authority, and Usefulness of those Traditions, wherein the Mystical Sense of the Allegories in the Talmud and other Writings of the Rabbins is explained*, 2 vols., 1832, 1842. [Curious and useful; much more than a translation.]

GFRÖRER, A. FR., *Geschichte des Urchristenthums*, Stuttgart 1838,—1st part, *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, in 2 vols.; 2nd part, *Die Heilige Sage*, in 2 vols.; 3rd part, *Das Heiligthum und die Wahrheit.* [The first two vols. present a summary of Jewish belief at the birth of Christ, the other vols. contain references to the Gospels and to Jesus.]

SOLA, D. A. DE, and M. J. RAPHALL, *Eighteen Treatises from the Mishna, translated*, 2nd edit. 1845.

M'CAUL, ALEX., *The Old Paths, or a Comparison of the Principles and Doctrines of Modern Judaism with the Religion of Moses and the Prophets*, 1846.

ETHERIDGE, J. W., *Jerusalem and Tiberias, Sora and Cordova, a Survey of the Religious and Scholastic Learning of the Jews, designed as an introduction to the study of Hebrew Literature*, 12mo, Longmans, 1856. [Compact and erudite.]

Döllinger, J. J. T., *The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ, an Introduction to the History of Christianity,*—see § 26 (1.). [The second part gives an admirable portrait of Jewish life and religion.]

Langen, J., *Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi, ein Beitrag zur Offenbarungs und Religions-Geschichte als Einleitung in die Theologie des Neuen Tests.,* Freiburg in Breisgau 1866. [Gives a careful survey, first, of sources, canonical and uncanonical; and secondly, of the religious views of the Jews and their parties at the time of Christ.]

Schwab, Moïse, *Le Talmud de Jérusalem traduit pour la première fois,* Paris, vol. i. 1871, vol. ii. 1878, vol. iii. 1879, vol. iv. 1881, vol. v. 1882, vol. vi. 1883, vol. vii. 1884. [About half of this useful work is now complete.]

Reynolds, H. R., *John the Baptist, the Congregational Lecture for* 1874, Hodder, 1874. [A careful study of the Baptist as the point of union of the Old Testament and New.]

Drummond, Jas., *The Jewish Messiah, a Critical History of the Messianic Idea among the Jews from the rise of the Maccabee to the closing of the Talmud,* Longmans, 1877.

Weber, F., *System der altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud dargestellt,* issued after the death of the author by Franz Delitzsch and Geo. Schnedermann, Leipsic 1880. [Excellent.]

Stapfer, Edmond, *La Palestine au Temps de Jésus Christ, d'après le Nouveau Testament, l'historien Flavius Josephe et les Talmuds, avec deux tableaux, deux plans et une carte,* Paris 1885. [A survey of the religious as well as of the social and political life.]

Stern, Ludwig, *Die Vorschriften der Thora welche Israel in der Zerstreuung zu beobachten hat, ein Lehrbuch der Religion für Schule und Familie,* Frankfort 1882. [Interesting for the light it throws upon the past as well as upon present Jewish teaching.]

(5.) *On New Testament Dogmatics as a Whole.*

SCHMID, C. F., *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Tests.*, edited by Weizsäcker, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1853, 4th edit. in 1 vol., Gotha 1868; translated from the 4th edit. by Venables under the title, *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, T. & T. Clark, 1870. [Indispensable.]

REUSS, EDOUARD, *Histoire de la Théologie Chrétienne au siècle Apostolique*, 2nd edit., revised and enlarged, 2 vols., Strasburg 1860, translated from the 3rd edition by Annie Harwood under the title, *History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age*, 2 vols., Hodder, 1872. [Also lucid and good.]

WEISS, B., *Lehrbuch der Biblischen Theologie des Neuen Tests.*, Berlin 1868, 3rd edit. 1880; translated from the 3rd revised edition by David Eaton under the title of *Biblical Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1882. [Stronger in its portrayal of the New Testament types and development than Schmid.]

IMMER, A., *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Bern 1877. [Also very noteworthy.]

(6.) *On Parts of New Testament Dogmatics, especially the several Types of Teaching.*

NOTE.—Many of the books given in § 61 (4.) also deal with New Testament types of dogmatic teaching.

USTERI, L., *Entwickelung des Paulinischen Lehrbegriffs in seinen Verhältnisse zur biblischen Dogmatik des N. T.*, Zürich 1824, 6th edit. 1851. [Pauline type.]

FROMMANN, KARL, *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff in seinen Verhältnisse zur gesammten biblisch-christlichen Lehre*, Leipsic, 16mo, 1839. [Johannine type.]

KÖSTLIN, K. R., *Der Lehrbegriff des Evangelium und der Briefe Johannis*, Berlin 1843. [Johannine type.]

WEISS, B., *Die Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, Leipsic 1855. [Petrine type.]

—— *Der Johanneische Lehrbegriff in seinen Grundzügen untersucht*, Berlin 1862. [Johannine type.]

RIEHM, E. K. A., *Der Lehrbegriff des Hebräerbriefes dargestellt*

und mit verwandten Lehrbegriffen verglichen, 2 parts, Ludwigsburg 1858, 1859. [Type of Epistle to Hebrews.]

SCHMIDT, W. G., *Der Lehrgehalt des Jakobusbriefes*, Leipsic 1869. [The teaching of James.]

PFLEIDERER, O., *Der Paulinismus, Beitrag zur Geschichte der Urchristlichen Theologie*, Leipsic 1873, translated by Ed. Peters under the title *Paulinism, a Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology*, 2 vols., Williams & Norgate, 1877,—vol. i., Exposition of Paul's doctrine; vol. ii., History of Paulinism in the Primitive Church. [Must be used with care.]

—— *Lectures on the Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity*, Hibbert Lectures for 1885, translated by J. F. Smith, Williams & Norgate, 1885.

GEBHARDT, HERMANN, *Der Lehrbegriff der Apokalypse*, Gotha 1873, translated by J. Jefferson under the title of *The Doctrine of the Apocalypse and its Relation to the Doctrine of the Gospel and Epistles of St. John*, T. & T. Clark, 1878.

OPITZ, H., *Das System des Paulus nach seinen Briefen*, Gotha 1873. [Pauline type.]

CLARKE, J. FREEMAN, *The Ideas of the Apostle Paul*, translated into their modern equivalents, 12mo, Boston 1884. [Suggestive but inadequate.]

FRANKE, A. H., *Das Alte Testament bei Johannes, ein Beitrag zur Erklärung und Beurtheilung der Johanneischen Schriften*, Göttingen 1885. [Treats of the Old Testament foundation of the ideas of John.]

(7.) *On the Biblical Doctrine of God.*

NOTE.—Only Biblical monographs are mentioned here; of course large Biblical examination of the several doctrines will be found in the books of § 87.

WEBER, F., *Vom Zorne Gottes, ein biblisch-theologisches Versuch, mit prolegomena von F. Delitzsch*, Erlangen 1862.

WITTICHEN, C., *Die Idee Gottes als des Vaters, ein Beitrag zur biblischen Theologie hauptsächlich der synoptischen Reden Jesu*, Göttingen 1865.

ZAHN, D. A., *Das Gesetz Gottes nach der Lehre des Apostel Paulus*, Halle 1876.

(8.) *On the Biblical Doctrine of Man.*

NOTE.—Compare § 69 (1.).

WITTICHEN, C., *Die Idee des Menschen, Beitrag 2. zur biblischen Theologie*, Göttingen 1868.

LÜDEMANN, HERMANN, *Die Anthropologie des Apos. Paulus, und ihre Stellung innerhalb seines Heilslehre*, Kiel 1872.

LAIDLAW, JOHN, *The Bible Doctrine of Man, seventh series of the Cunningham Lectures*, T. & T. Clark, 1879. [Man's origin, primitive state, nature, at creation, under sin, in the new life, and in their bearing on a future life, are all made the subjects of careful and sober Biblical examination.]

(9.) *On the Biblical Doctrine of Sin.*

KLAIBER, C. B., *Die Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Sünde und Erlösung*, Stuttgart, 12mo, 1836.

ERNESTI, H. F. T. L., *Vom Ursprunge der Sünde nach Paulinischen Lehrgehalte*, 2 vols., 2nd edit., Göttingen 1862.

ZAHN, D. A., *De Notione Peccati, quam Johannes in 1 Epist. docet Commentatio*, Halle 1873.

LEMME, L., *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Dekalogs, Prolegomena zu einer alttest. Lehre von der Sünde*, Breslau 1880.

MENEGOZ, EUG., *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après Saint Paul*, Paris 1882.

(10.) *On the Biblical Doctrine of Christ, His Person and Work.*

PYE SMITH, J., *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, an Inquiry with a view to a satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine taught in the Holy Scriptures concerning the Person of Christ*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1st edit. 1829, 6th edit. 1875.

HENGSTENBERG, E. W., *Christologie des A. T. und Commentar über die Messianischen Weissagungen der Propheten*, 2 vols., Berlin 1829–1832, 2nd edit. 3 vols., 1857–1862, translated by Theod. Meyer under the title of *Christology*

of the Old Testament, and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions, 4 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1854.

SMEATON, GEO., *The Doctrine of the Atonement, as taught by Christ Himself, or the Sayings of Jesus on the Atonement exegetically expounded and classified,* T. & T. Clark, 1868.

—— *The Doctrine of the Atonement, as taught by the Apostles, or the Sayings of the Apostles exegetically expounded, with Historical Appendix,* T. & T. Clark, 1870.

SCHMIDT, R., *Die Paulinische Christologie in ihrem Zusammenhang mit der Heilslehre des Apostels dargestellt,* Göttingen 1870.

GESS, W. F., *Christi Person und Werk, nach Christi Selbstzeugniss und den Zeugnissen der Apostel,* 2 parts, Bâle 1870–1878.

CRAWFORD, T. J., *The Doctrine of Holy Scripture respecting the Atonement,* 1st edit. 1871, 3rd edit. 1880, Blackwood, Edinburgh.

KLEUKER, J. F., *Johannes, Petrus, und Paulus als Christologen,* Riga 1875.

CAVE, ALFRED, *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice, including Investigations into the Origin of Sacrifice, the Jewish Ritual, the Atonement, and the Lord's Supper,* T. & T. Clark, 1877.

RIEHM, E., *Begriff der Sühne im Alten Testament,* Gotha 1877.

—— *Die Messianische Weissagung, ihre Entstehung, ihr Zeitgeschichtlicher Character und ihr Verhältniss zu der neutest. Erfüllung,* Gotha 1875, translated by J. Jefferson under the title of *Messianic Prophecy, its Origin, Historical Character, and Relation to New Testament Fulfilment,* T. & T. Clark, 1875.

GLOAG, PATON J., *The Messianic Prophecies, being the Baird Lecture for* 1879, T. & T. Clark, 1879.

ADENEY, W. F., *The Hebrew Utopia, a Study of Messianic Prophecy,* Hodder, 1879.

DELITZSCH, F., *Old Testament History of Redemption, translated by S. I. Curtiss,* T. & T. Clark, 1880.

—— *The Messianic Prophecies, translated by S. I. Curtiss,* T. & T. Clark, 1880.

(11.) *On the Biblical Doctrine of the Church.*

NOTE.—Compare § 69 (2.).

DAVIDSON, SAMUEL, *The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament Unfolded, and its points of coincidence or disagreement with prevailing systems indicated,* 2nd edit. 1854, 12mo.

WITTICHEN, C., *Die Idee des Reiches Gottes, Beitrag 3. zur bibl. Theologie,* Göttingen 1872.

KÖSTLIN, J., *Das Wesen der Kirche nach Lehre und Geschichte des Neuen Tests., mit Rücksicht Protestantismus und Katholicismus,* Gotha 1872.

JACOB, G. A., *The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament, a Study for the Present Crisis in the Church of England,* 1st edit. 1872, 2nd edit. 1878, Daldy, Isbister.

GASPARIN, A. DE, *L'Eglise selon l'Evangile,* Paris 1878.

SELBST, F. J., *Die Kirche Jesu Christi nach den Weissagungen der Propheten,* Mayence 1883.

ORELLI, C. V., *Die Alttest. Weissagung von der Vollendung des Gottesreiches in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung dargestellt,* Vienna 1882, translated by J. S. Banks under the title of *The Old Testament Prophecy of the Consummation of God's Kingdom, traced in its Historical Development,* T. &. T. Clark, 1885.

SCHMIDT, H., *Die Kirche, ihre biblische Idee und die Formen ihrer geschichtlichen Erscheinung in ihrem Unterscheide von Sekte und Härese,* Leipsic 1884.

WALZ, K., *Die Lehre der Kirche von der heil. Schrift nach der Schrift selbst geprüft,* Leiden 1884.

CANDLISH, JAS. S., *The Kingdom of God Biblically and Historically Considered, tenth series of the Cunningham Lectures,* T. & T. Clark, 1884.

(12.) *On the Biblical Doctrine of the Last Things.*

KAHLE, A., *Biblische Eschatologie der Alten Tests.,* Gotha 1870.

PHILIPPI, FERD., *Die Biblische und Kirchliche Lehre vom Antichrist,* Gütersloh 1877.

The Parousia, a Critical Inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of our Lord's Second Coming, Daldy, Isbister, 1878.

SUBDIVISION XI.: BIBLICAL ETHICS, §§ 66, 67.

§ 66.

DEFINITION, PROBLEM, DIVISION, AND HISTORY OF BIBLICAL ETHICS.

A FIFTH theological science resulting from the application of a scientific exegesis is Biblical ethics. By Biblical ethics is meant the moral science of the Bible. For centuries the moral doctrines of the Bible were regarded as a branch of Biblical doctrine in general, and were treated as a section of doctrinal theology; but for some time now it has been customary to treat the two subjects apart, ethical doctrine being so very definite a branch of Biblical truth; and there is certainly something to be said for the separation. What pertains to the right action of the will may certainly be placed in a different category to what pertains to the right action of the intellect. Moral law is different from intellectual truth. Biblical ethics is therefore the moral doctrines of the Bible treated scientifically. As such it is distinguished from philosophic ethics. Philosophical ethics finds its source, its forms, and its authority in the moral nature of man; Biblical ethics finds its source, its forms, and its authority in the Bible. Philosophical ethics is built up by an examination of the contents of consciousness; Biblical ethics by an examination of the contents of Scripture. In short, Biblical ethics is an objective and not a subjective study. Philosophical ethics analyses the moral faculty by introspection; Biblical ethics investigates an external ethical system, that of the Bible. There is an ethical system of the Bible, as there is of Mohammed or Buddha, and Biblical ethics extracts from an objective source, the Bible, what the Bible has to teach upon the science of morals.

The PROBLEM then of Biblical ethics is to inquire what the Bible has to say upon the great ethical problems, viz. upon the theory of right and wrong, the theory of the supreme end of life, and the theory of the moral nature of man. Alas! nothing like an adequate investigation has yet been conducted into these several points. To make no other criticism, no book has yet appeared which keeps in mind the development of ethical doctrine in the Bible.

Nevertheless it is evident that Biblical ethics, like Biblical dogmatics, may be DIVIDED into an analytical and a synthetical part, the former having to do with the successive phases of ethical teaching in the Bible, and the latter with the organic unity of those phases. The scheme would again run somewhat as follows:—

Biblical ethics is divided into—

I. An analytical part, subdividing into—
   1. The ethics of the Old Testament.
   2. The ethics of the New Testament.

II. A synthetical part, subdividing into—
   1. The Biblical doctrine of the moral nature of man,
      a. in his unregenerate state;
      b. in his regenerate state.
   2. The Biblical doctrine of the moral ideal of man.
   3. The Biblical doctrine of the moral end of man.

It can scarcely be said that Biblical ethics has had a distinctive HISTORY as yet. The principal works upon the subject will be characterised in the next section.

§ 67.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL ETHICS.

BÖHMER, W., *System des christlichen Leben,* Breslau 1853.

SCHMID, CH. F., *Christliche Sittenlehre,* edited by Heller, Gotha 1867.

HARLESS, G. C. A. VON, *System of Christian Ethics,* translated from the 6th German edition by Morrison and Findlay, T. & T. Clark, 1868. [Treats of the ethical side of the blessing of salvation, of its possession, and its preservation.]

WUTTKE, A., *Handbuch des christlichen Sittenlehre,* 2 vols., Berlin 1861–62, 3rd edit. 1874–75, translated under the title *Christian Ethics,* 2 vols., T. & T. Clark.

CULMANN, P. TH., *Christliche Ethik,* 2nd edit., 2 vols., Stuttgart 1874.

LANGE, J. P., *Grundriss der christlichen Ethik,* Heidelberg 1878.

THOMA, ALBRECHT, *Geschichte der christlichen Sittenlehre in der Zeit des Neuen Testamentes,* Haarlem 1879.

BESTMANN, H. J., *Geschichte der christlichen Sitte,*—Part I. *Die Sittlichen Studien,* Nördlingen 1880. [This first volume deals with the moral ideas of the Old and New Testaments.]

ERNESTI, H. F. T. L., *Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt,* 3rd edit., Göttingen 1880.

MARTENSEN, H., *Christian Ethics, General Part,* T. & T. Clark, 1882; *Special Part, First Division, Individual Ethics,* T. & T. Clark, 1881. [In the former the postulates and fundamental concepts of Christian ethics are considered,

and in the latter the life under the law and sin, and the life in following Christ, both from the New Testament standpoint.]

FRANK, F. H. R., *System der christlichen Sittlichkeit*, 1st half, Erlangen 1884. [Treats of the individual development of the godly man.]

SUBDIVISION XII.: SOME REMAINING BIBLICAL SCIENCES, §§ 68, 69.

§ 68.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF REMAINING SCIENCES, BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL SOCIOLOGY.

OUR sketch of Biblical theology, in the wider sense of the term, as the series of sciences introductory to, and resulting from the interpretation of the Bible, is almost complete. It is evident, however, from the outline already given that these Biblical sciences, if they still fall far short of perfection, nevertheless form a splendid heirloom from the past, giving at once greater command over the riches of the Bible, and deeper conviction of the inexhaustibleness of its wealth. Indeed, Biblical theology has been prosecuted with more ardour and by more scholars than any other branch of theological science, and even in its imperfection provides a splendid model for the investigation of the several divisions of ethnic, if not of natural, theology. In the thoroughness of its introductory method, and in the fulness of its resulting sciences, many an invaluable hint is given for the pursuit of other branches of knowledge which involve the scientific study of ancient books. Nevertheless the scheme of sciences resulting from a careful interpretation of sections of Holy Scripture is not yet quite complete. By reference to the general classification of the sciences given in § 10, some manifest omissions immediately appear. If Biblical natural history, treated under Biblical archæology, covers what might otherwise be included under several of the leading branches of science, and if, further, it is scarcely necessary to inquire what the teaching of the Bible is upon some other branches of science, there are two branches of ordered knowledge upon which we should expect

the Bible to have something to say. There is, that is to say, a Biblical psychology, and there is a Biblical sociology. Upon the mental nature of man the Bible assuredly has much to say, and what it says may well form a separate Biblical science. Further, what is the kingdom of God which underlies the entire Bible but an ideal society in which men may live? Surely the nature and laws of this ideal society may wisely be investigated, so as to constitute a Biblical sociology. Neither of these sciences can be considered as yet to have a history, Biblical sociology having been scarcely prosecuted hitherto,—a few investigators in this fertile field will, however, be named in the next section,—and Biblical psychology being peculiarly a study of the present time, some prominent inquirers having pushed into this new ground with vigour and success, who will also be named in the next section.

It is manifest, however, that both these sciences may be treated under other heads, and possibly in the present state of our knowledge it might be advisable so to treat them. Thus Biblical psychology may be justly regarded as a sub-section of Biblical dogmatics, being considered as part of the Biblical doctrine of man. Biblical sociology, again, is almost identical with the Biblical doctrine of the Church, another sub-section of Biblical dogmatics. There are, however, some advantages in keeping these several subjects apart.

§ 69.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON BIBLICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND BIBLICAL SOCIOLOGY.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

DELITZSCH, FRANZ, *System der biblischen Psychologie*, 2nd edit., Leipsig 1863, translated under the title of *A System of Biblical Psychology*, from the 2nd German edit., by R. E. Wallis, 2nd English edit., Edinburgh 1869. [Still the best book on the whole of the subject.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

(1.) *On Biblical Psychology.*

NOTE.—Compare § 64 (8.).

RUDLOFF, C. G. v., *Die Lehre vom Menschen auf dem Grunde der göttlichen Offenbarung*, 2nd enlarged edit., Part I., Gotha 1863. The earlier edition appeared under the fuller title, *Die Lehre vom Menschen nach Geist, Seele und Leib, sowohl während des Erdenlebens als nach seinem Abscheiden aus demselben, begründet auf der göttlichen Offenbarung*, Leipsic 1858. [An untechnical discussion of the Biblical doctrine of the threefold nature of man.]

BECK, J. T., *Umriss der biblischen Seelenlehre*, 3rd edit., Stuttgart 1871, 1st edit. 1843, translated under the title, *Outlines of Biblical Psychology*, T. & T. Clark, 12mo, 1877. [An able book; treats of the life of the human soul (1) as *Nephesh* (soul), (2) as affected by *Ruach* (spirit), and (3) as centred in *Lebh* (heart).]

HEARD, J. B., *The Tripartite Nature of Man, Spirit, Soul, and Body, applied to illustrate and explain the doctrines of*

Original Sin, the New Birth, the Disembodied State, and the Spiritual Body, 3rd edit., revised and enlarged, T. & T. Clark, 1870, 12mo, 5th edit. 1883. [This justly well-known book contains much Biblical matter.]

WENDT, H. H., *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch*, Gotha 1878. [An instructive examination of the usage in the Old Testament, the Septuagint, and the New Testament.]

COBB, W. H., *The Meaning of "Nephesh," Bibliotheca Sacra* for January 1880. [Should be read.]

LAIDLAW, JOHN, *The Bible Doctrine of Man, the seventh series of the Cunningham Lectures*, T. & T. Clark, 1879. [The second lecture contains an admirable review of the Biblical psychology, while in the appendix some scholarly notes are given, historical and explanatory.]

DICKSON, WM. P., *St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit, the Baird Lecture for* 1883, Glasgow 1883. [The best book yet published.]

(2.) *On Biblical Sociology.*

NOTE.—Compare § 64 (11.).

STUCKENBERG, J. H. W., *Christian Sociology*, 12mo, Dickinson, 1881. [In two parts, the first discussing the nature and relations of Christian society, and the second discussing Christian social ethics.]

MARTENSEN, H., *Christian Ethics, Special Part, Second Division, Social Ethics, translated from the German by Sophia Taylor*, T. & T. Clark, 1882. [Considers in detail the moral life of society and the kingdom of God.]

PART II.

(Continued.)

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DIVISION IV.

ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY.

§ 70.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY.

WE now come to the fourth division of theology, which we have called ecclesiastical theology. As has been previously stated, the NAME of this division has been adopted because it is more precise than the more common name of historical theology. Just as the term Biblical theology has been preferred to exegetical theology, because the former technicality has a more precise connotation, so the name historical theology has been discarded for ecclesiastical theology, in spite of the undesirable associations of the word *ecclesiastical*, because historical theology is too wide a term, seeing that any branch of theology may be treated historically. The sources of theological science, as we have seen, are nature, heathenism, the Bible, and the Christian Church; and it is prudent to keep the lines between these sources distinct.

ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY, THEN, IS *the science of the history of the Christian Church.* It is a *science*, an accurate and ordered statement of facts and the principles they involve; it is a *science of history*, that is, it investigates a development, it follows an unfolding phase of the world's life, it undertakes by using all the accessible means, documentary, critical, and constructive, fittingly employed in such research, to present a synthesis of all the facts of a life-story; and it is *a science of the history of the Christian Church*, of that religious community planted by God in the world to receive and to impart His gracious influence. For the word "church" in this definition, any of its numerous synonyms may be substituted. The Church is the company of those redeemed by Christ. The Church is identical with what the New Testament calls the kingdom of God on earth, or, to use yet another equivalent, is coextensive with the renewed offspring of the Father, who

receive through the spirit the life of the Son. Adopting therefore any of these variations of phrase, ecclesiastical theology is the science of the data presented by the course in time of those whom Christ has ransomed, or whom He has constituted into a divine kingdom, or whom He has regenerated. Strictly speaking, the Church includes all the visible societies of Christians, or rather includes all those amongst those visible societies who receive and radiate the saving power of Christ. Practically, however, the history of the Christian Church is the history of the various Christian societies, the so-called visible Churches, a practical definition which is not likely to lead astray so long as the idea of the so-called Church universal is retained in mind.

From such a definition, the relation between the scientific study of common history and the scientific study of the history of the Christian Church immediately follows. Ordinary history pursues the course of societies of men as men; Church history pursues the course of societies of Christian men. The latter is a branch of the former, and although their spheres sometimes coincide, man as divinely influenced still being man, it is perfectly feasible and highly important to adopt a separate treatment, the history of the race in its wide human relations being one thing, and its law of progress one, whilst the history of the race in its Christian relations is quite another thing, and its law of progress altogether different. Our definition also marks the distinction between ecclesiastical theology and the other branches of theological science. The facts presented by the Christian Church are not the same as those presented by the Bible, or by Christian doctrine, or by the pastoral office, although some sections of each of these three divisions seem to partake of the nature of cross divisions. If, however, Biblical history seems to be a branch of ecclesiastical theology, this is only when the difference between the originating Apostolic Age and the assimilating post-Apostolic Ages is forgotten. Again, although the history of Christian doctrine may appear to be a branch of doctrinal theology, this can only be when attention is no longer given to the historical aspect of this branch of ecclesiastical theology. It is one thing to state beliefs as they have been held by Christians at

different times, and another thing to present beliefs, or to endeavour to present them, in a reasoned form irrespective of sect or age. So too, it is true, the pastoral function may be studied as it has appeared in the past, and this study would be a part of ecclesiastical theology; but pastoral theology is the science of the facts presented by the pastorate irrespective of time. It is the developmental element, it is time, which constitutes the inalienable differentia of ecclesiastical theology.

The PROBLEM, then, of this branch of theology is *to give a true and connected account of the development of the Christian Church* in all its multifarious work and thought,—to reproduce from all extant sources of information the story of the manifold life of the Christian Church, its struggles and its victories, its thinkers and its antagonists, its growth within and its proselytizing without, its deeds of mercy, its self-government, its rebellions, its advances, its retrogressions. The problem is not easy. In prosecuting this problem, two preliminary steps at least are indispensable. On the one hand, it is essential to grasp here, as in all history, the wide-reaching and influential distinction between the original sources of the history of the Christian Church, and those sources when elaborated into history; and on the other hand, it is necessary to prepare oneself by some familiarity with certain auxiliary sciences. Only when the sources have been carefully distinguished from what is not original, and when some apprenticeship has been served in the prosecution of preparatory studies, can the course of actual development be successfully traced. The sitter must be isolated, and the glass and apparatus must be put into position, before the photograph itself can be taken.

One important step towards the solution of the problem of ecclesiastical theology, it has just been said, is to distinguish accurately between the original sources of information and those sources as elaborated into histories. The credibility of the original and the elaborated sources is so different. Neander, for example, writes a history of the Christian Church,—what is its trustworthiness? Manifestly it is only trustworthy so far as it represents the original sources critically weighed. In fact, the value of such a book depends upon four things,—its representation of the original sources, its criticism of those

original sources, its assimilation of those sources as critically weighed, and its literary ability. Its facts cannot be more extensive than the original sources critically estimated, nor can its credibility. The crucial question as regards all second-hand narratives always is, whether they are warranted by a judicious use of the extant sources. Their imagination may be fine, their style brilliant, their composition classic; but if they exceed the testimony of the original sources, they are embellished, and if they fall short of that testimony, they are meagre. The two tests of elaborated history are,—Is it accurate, and is it adequate? The two tests of original sources are,—Are they contemporary, and are they faithful? Let not, however, too restricted a view be taken as to what constitutes original sources. They are to be found in all monuments and records, in all extant monuments, whether buildings, or pictures, or furniture, or tombs, or sculptured inscriptions, or the buried cemeteries of the past, and in all records, whether the acts of councils, or popes, or martyrs, the rules of monasteries, the laws of courts, liturgies, creeds, the extant writings of the Fathers or of their numerous successors in the great field of Christian literature. A good division of these original sources, showing at once their nature and their variety, is into three classes, viz. antiquities such as records and monuments, narratives of eye-witnesses or contemporaries, and histories which have been composed from sources no longer extant.

A second indispensable step towards the solution of ecclesiastical theology is, it has also been said, a sufficient acquaintance with several auxiliary sciences. Of those aids which pertain to a liberal education, and of the several philological aids, necessary helps as both classes of aids are, nothing needs be said here. Attention is only called to those aids which facilitate the study of history as such. They may be divided into the specific and the general. The specific aids facilitate the comprehension of individual facts presented by the sources, embracing such subjects as the laws of criticism and the facts of geography, chronology, and statistics. The general aids assist in appreciating the testimony of the sources as a whole, and embody the history of the world, of the epoch, of law and

art, philosophy and literature, sound general views upon which subjects render valuable service in coming to healthy and accurate conclusions upon ecclesiastical theology.

Some acquaintance having been formed with each of these lines of pursuit,—and the more careful the acquaintance the more probable are correct ultimate conclusions,—the problem of ecclesiastical theology may be attacked, the accurate re-presentation of any or all the phases of the life of the Christian Church. Here again completeness and method will smooth the task undertaken. Remembering, for example, the various aspects under which the Christian Church may be viewed, it is desirable to distinctly recognise that a tolerable view of any period of the course of the Church will only be attained when, on the one hand, the history is presented of the Church in its external relations,—with the state and with the unregenerate world, and on the other hand, when there is also given the picture of the Church in its internal relations,—the character and work of its prominent members, the outline of its specific doctrines, the main features of its practice, the peculiarities of its sects, the points of its heresies, and the grounds of its schisms. What further needs be said upon the problem of ecclesiastical theology will appear when we trace the outline of the entire science. Let us turn now to the value of a study of ecclesiastical theology.

§ 71.

UTILITY OF THE SCIENCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY.

IN the excellent lectures upon the introduction to the study of ecclesiastical history with which the late Arthur Penrhyn Stanley prefaced his well-known *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, and which every student of ecclesiastical theology should read, the Dean commenced his discussion by an apt quotation from the *Pilgrim's Progress:* "When Christian the pilgrim," he writes, "halted by the highway-side at the palace of which the name was Beautiful, he was told that he should not depart till they had shown him the rarities of that place. And first they had him into the study, where they showed him records of the greatest antiquity, in which was the pedigree of the Lord of the Hill, the Son of the Ancient of Days. . . . Here also were more fully recorded the acts that He had done, and the names of many hundreds that He had taken into His service; and how He had placed them in such habitations, that could neither by length of days nor decays of nature be dissolved. Then they read to him some of the worthy acts that some of His servants had done; as how they had subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens. Then they read in another part of the records of the house, how willing their Lord was to receive into His favour any, even any, though they in time past had offered great affronts to His person and proceedings. Here also were several other histories of other famous things, of all which Christian had a view, as of things both ancient and modern, together with prophecies and predictions of things that have their certain

accomplishment, both to the dread and amazement of enemies and the comfort and solace of pilgrims." As Stanley justly remarks, these simple sentences, telling in homely language of the life of Christ and His followers, vividly if briefly illustrate some of the advantages of the study of ecclesiastical theology. That study strengthens and invigorates action as well as thought.

For a study of ecclesiastical theology is of supereminent value as a branch of religious education, as well as of very high utility in a theological education. It is with the latter point we are mainly concerned, but a few words upon the former, the importance of a study of the history of the Christian Church in religious education, may be permitted, and for two reasons, viz. the light thrown upon the nature of ecclesiastical theology itself, and the practical guidance suggested. He only will successfully prosecute theology who has first striven after religion with some success, and ecclesiastical theology matures religion.

And, in the *first* place, UNDER THE RELIGIOUS AS WELL AS THE THEOLOGICAL REGARD, *let it be noticed how in pursuing the history of the Christian Church, we are falling in with the spirit of the age.* One of the distinctive endowments of this century is a keen sense of the practical value of historical research. This is pre-eminently the century of scientific history. Instead of being regarded as necessary to polite literature simply, history is deemed a part of exact knowledge with important practical bearings. Not that such works as Macaulay's famous History, or Clarendon's, or Gibbon's are undervalued, but, partisan as they are, they have come to be thought more interesting as literature than as history. Scientific history aims at truth above all things, at an unprejudiced exhibition of the real character of the men, and times, and things of which it treats, and it is this dispassionate conception of history which has been specially formed and prosecuted in recent years. As science of all kinds has come to be enthusiastically investigated, a large need has come to be felt for accurate knowledge as to what other ages as well as our own have known and done. Thinkers have become conscious that familiarity with other times would have both a

steadying and enlarging effect; and as a consequence the history of all branches of study has been diligently pursued. So fully, indeed, has this conception of the value of history in the formation of opinion laid hold of the mind of our times, that it has become almost a universal practice to preface the study of any science by a brief sketch of its history. Life has been realized to be an evolution, a growth, a development, and hence a knowledge of the past has been seen to be as indispensable to a practical knowledge of the present, as to a wise preparedness for the future. And a more enlarging and steadying influence than that of historical knowledge it is difficult to conceive. Removed from the agitation and bias of the present, questions intertwined with all the misleading and limiting prepossessions of birth and culture are viewed in the cold light of an indifferent past. Thus the eye is at once quickened and quieted by distance. All those side-lights which the retina is too rigid to convey in its intense and concentrated, possibly even passionate gaze, within the near limit of vision, exercise their adjusting effects at a distance, and a more accurate image is formed, neither inclined nor inverted, not too bright nor too dark, and free at any rate from the *muscæ volitantes* of a disordered spleen. A certain distance from the eye is always necessary to clear vision, or, to change the figure, we may say that the critical study of history enlarges like foreign travel, augmenting the narrow though invaluable experiences of a single observer by the superadded experiences, so far as they are assumable, of many centuries of thinkers and workers. These remarks are especially true of the critical study of the history of the Christian Church. There is a proverbial bitterness apt to be imported into religious discussions, and hence the value of the steadying effect of historical study. There is a proverbial narrowness about the religious partisan, which the enlarging effect of a knowledge of other times and epochs best corrects.

Secondly, a good religious education is not complete without some acquaintance with the great subject of ecclesiastical theology, for another reason. It is very salutary to be brought into contact with the leaders of Christian thought, sentiment, and

activity. *Religious biography is an invaluable branch of religious education.* Great men, as Emerson puts it, are "our nobler brothers, though one in blood," and we may learn much from their mistakes and achievements, their brilliant inspirations or their paralyzing narrownesses. "Study the lives," says Stanley, in the lectures previously mentioned, "study the thoughts, and hymns, and prayers, study the death-beds of good men. They are the salt, not only of the world, but of the Church. In them we see, close at hand, what on the public stage of history we see through every kind of distorted medium and deceptive refraction. In them we can trace the history if not of the Catholic Church, at least of the communion of saints. The *Acta Sanctorum* were literally, as a great French historian [Guizot] has said, the only light, moral and intellectual, of the centuries, from the seventh to the ninth, which may without exaggeration be called 'the dark ages.' 'Their glories,' it has been well said [by Bishop Wilson], 'shine far beyond the limits of their daily walk in life; their odours are wafted across the borders of unfriendly societies; their spiritual seed is borne away, and takes root and bears manifold in fields far distant from the gardens of the Lord where they were planted.' We have to be on our guard against the proverbial exaggerations of biographers; we have to disentangle fable and legend from truth and fact; but the reward is worth the risk; the work will be its own reward. It is well known that, amidst the trials which beset Henry Martyn on his voyage to India, the study in which he found his chief pleasure and profit was in the kindly notices of ancient saints which form the redeeming points of Milner's *History of the Church.* 'I love' (so he writes in his diary) 'to converse, as it were, with those holy bishops and martyrs, with whom, I hope, through grace, to spend a happy eternity. . . . The example of the Christian saints in the early ages has been a source of sweet reflection to me. . . . The holy love and devout meditations of Augustine and Ambrose I delight to think of. . . . No uninspired sentence ever affected me so much as that of the historian, that to believe, to suffer, and to love, was the primitive taste.' What he so felt and expressed

may be, and has been, felt by others. Such biographies are the common, perhaps the only common, literature alike of rich and poor. Hearts, to whom even the Bible speaks in vain, have by such works been roused to a sense of duty and holiness." The fact is that let a man, whatever he do, but do it greatly, especially let his greatness be seen in goodness, and we cannot help sitting at his feet to learn as well as to listen. Lives of great men, as Longfellow reminds us, bring to our remembrance the possibilities of our own lives. Let a man be religious, let him have grappled with the deeper problems of life, let him have answered for himself those profound questions as to whence he came, whither he is going, what are his present and future hopes, let him moreover be willing to spend his life in the propagation and attestation of his belief, and such mental struggles and spiritual victory will have a magnetic hold upon the human mind and heart. Christian biography always commands reverential attention.

A third conviction which it is well for general religious culture to permit ecclesiastical theology to strengthen is the supreme import of New Testament Christianity. The history of the Church is a history of approximation, more or less close, to the exalted teaching and practice of the first disciples of Jesus. There is a philosophical explanation for this. At first sight it seems perfectly easy to give expression in words of the intellect to what we apprehend intuitively; but it is really no more easy to embody in words what we directly perceive than it is in acts. The fact is that all science, with its infinite labour, with its conflicts of hypotheses, with its advances and its retrogressions, its straight march and its circuitous approaches, is really an endeavour to give intellectual expression to what we have intuitive impressions of. Any healthy eye can see, but the labours of generations and of the most acute minds in those generations have not yet solved the mystery of sight, or, in other words, given adequate intellectual expression to the phenomena of vision. So is it in the religious world. The Apostolic Age was the age of intuitive religious knowledge. Men felt the truth rather than thought it; the truth was known as by a divine inspiration. All subsequent ages have it as their task to

formulate in words and lives what the apostles knew, or saw, or felt, whatever word we use to express intuitive apprehension of truth. Thus it comes about that every age is a mirror which in some degree reflects the Apostolic Age with more or less clearness, and the features of that great formative time stand out the more sharply the more intimate is our knowledge of Church history,—one epoch throwing one element of apostolic teaching into strong relief, and another epoch giving prominence to another element. So also it happens that, in the aberrations of intellectual and ethical endeavour, in the wanderings of thought or of practice, the Apostolic Age stands out as the great corrective. So much might have been anticipated from philosophical considerations. And turning to the actual course of events, it is a matter of fact that there is an evidently increasing appreciation of the gist and the bearings of the New Testament as time advances, just as it is also manifest that every great forward movement in doctrine or practice throughout the years of the Church has always been characterized by a more or less conscious return to the primitive records. Augustine meets Pelagius with weapons forged in the armoury of the Apostle Paul; St. Bernard gives his nights and his days to the study of St. John; the treatises of Aquinas bristle with Scriptural quotations; Luther conceives an entire change of standpoint by personal contact with the Gospels and Epistles; and it is hardly needful to recall how Whitfield and Wesley found their inspiration in the narratives of the first Christian evangelists. The more intimate the acquaintance with the phases of the life of the Church, the more splendid and clear is the light which gathers round the head of Christ and His apostles.

And a fourth reason why Church history might advisably form part even of an ordinary religious education *is the opportunity thus afforded of studying dispassionately great questions of perennial interest.* The same fundamental problems appeal to every thinking mind, and it is of incalculable value to us if we can by any means regard these problems at a distance from ourselves. No man knows his own failings or his own virtues, and it is only as we see ourselves reflected in others that we are able to form some sort of estimate of what we are.

"Every man," says Oliver Wendell Holmes, with some causticity, "is really three persons: what he really is, what he thinks he is, and what other people think him;" and naturally that estimate is the more likely to be genuine which compounds the three opinions. So also nothing is more difficult, nor more indispensable, than to obtain a clear and rational opinion of what is of supreme and what of light importance in our creed and conduct. Here, again, ecclesiastical theology lends its aid. Many opinions are seen to have a psychological basis merely, and to be the consequence of temperament rather than conviction. The innate conservatism of humanity appears, and its sluggishness in apprehending new views, whether true or false. Imperfections and failings are seen to be inseparable from human life. Especially do we see how, to again quote Dean Stanley, "every Church partakes of the faults as well as the excellences of its own age and country; that each is fallible as human nature itself; that each is useful as a means, none perfect as an end. To find Christ or anti-Christ exclusively in any one community is against charity, and against humility, and above all, against the facts of history." Further, as the Dean continues, it will be vain to argue, on abstract grounds, for the absolute and indefeasible necessity of some practice or ceremony, of which we have learned from history that there is no instance for one, two, three, or four hundred years, in the most honoured ages of the Church. It will be vain to denounce as subversive of Christianity doctrines which we have known from biography to have been held by the very saints, martyrs, and reformers we are constantly applauding. Opinions and views which, in a familiar and modified form, waken in us no shock of surprise, or which even command our high admiration, will often for the first time be truly apprehended when we see them in the ritual or the creed of some rival, or remote, or barbarous Church, which is but the caricature and exaggeration of that which we ourselves hold. Practices which we insist on retaining or repudiating, as if they involved the very essence of the Catholic faith, or of the Reformation, will appear less precious or less dangerous, as the case may be, in the eyes of the respective disputants, if history shows us

clearly that we thereby make ourselves, on the one hand, more papal than the Pope, more Roman than Rome ; on the other hand, more Lutheran than Luther, more Genevan than Calvin. We find great controversialists tearing to shreds arguments we have been unwise enough to advance, and defending in a manner most exemplary opinions which we have thought inane. In a word, a study of ecclesiastical theology accentuates the necessary in belief and practice, and depreciates the accessory.

But if there are many reasons why a study of ecclesiastical theology is of value as a means of ordinary religious culture, there are also many reasons why some acquaintance with ecclesiastical theology is absolutely indispensable to a sound theological education. Doubtless what is useful in religious culture generally is peculiarly useful in the religious culture of the preacher; and religious biography, a rooted conviction of the importance of New Testament Christianity, and an acquaintance with the controversial struggles of the past, all have a high homiletical worth. But *there are additional reasons why ecclesiastical theology should be studied with care by* THE THEOLOGICAL STUDENT.

For, in the first place, ecclesiastical theology accentuates the exalted position Biblical theology occupies in the development of mankind as compared with natural or ethnic theology. What Paul said with so firm an assurance, the student of ecclesiastical theology may repeat with stronger emphasis. The gospel of Christ has throughout history shown itself "the power of God unto salvation." Despite its occasional aberration, its singular excrescences, its abortive flowers, its dead branches, the great tree of the Biblical faith has been for the healing of the nations. The miracle of the Apostolic Age has had many a repetition, and in all years numbered after our Lord, not only have individual souls testified that they have been snatched as brands from the burning, as the records tell us, but a sensualized world has become the centre of a restored life.

Secondly, the theologian can ill spare the sense of the unity of the faith which ecclesiastical theology gives. It is, alas! in some respects, too frightfully true, as Dr. Arnold wrote, that instead

of a noble and beautiful "progress of the spirit of light and love, dispelling the darkness of folly, and subduing into one divine harmony all the jarring elements of evil," we have "no steady unwavering advance of heavenly spirits, but one continually interrupted, checked, diverted from its course, driven backward; as of men possessed by some bewildering spell, wasting their strength upon imaginary obstacles, hindering each other's progress and their own, by stopping to analyse and dispute about the nature of the sun's light till all were blinded by it, instead of thankfully using its aid to show them the right path onward." Nevertheless, despite the horrible diversity, despite the sanguinary conflicts over human additions to the one divine creed, the apostle's words receive from the history of the Church an ever augmenting reiteration, "One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." The student of the controversies of the Church is enabled to see with increasing clearness that there is a Catholic faith, and to delineate its features.

Thirdly, the theologian is also better equipped for his special work of teaching who has been taught by a study of the history of the Church, how, amidst the endless diversities of belief and practice which have obtained, *there has been nevertheless a steady progress on the whole in intellectual and moral apprehension.* As in all human things, progress has not been one unswerving advance. Hegel's law more nearly describes it—progress by a conflict of opposites. In the investigation of the genesis and growth of rites and doctrines, creeds and ecclesiastical organizations, Church is seen to differ from Church, creed from creed, confession from confession, age from age; and ecclesiastical history, like profane, is apparently little else than a narrative of civil and foreign wars, coronations and depositions, rebellions, revolutions, reformations, and intrigues. But the progressive nature of theology and religion also becomes manifest. Doctrine, says ecclesiastical theology, has been held with a grasp increasingly firmer, wiser, and more assured. Battles over rival theories, the accession of one leader of thought or the fall of another, heresies and defences, assaults and apologies, have all contributed in the long-run to the general advance. And progress has taken

place, it has come to be acknowledged, in a twofold direction, —in the grasp of single doctrines and in those readjustments of the *ensemble* of doctrines which, so intimately is truth interwoven with truth, every smallest acquisition has invariably necessitated. Indeed, opposition and inquiry have transformed vague feelings and hesitant expressions into consistent intellectual statements, whilst these, receiving more and more precise limitations, have in their turn reacted upon the whole of doctrine, and evoked stricter cohesion, more rigid inference, more subtle analysis. Let the doctrine of the Trinity, for example, as it appears in the Apostles' Creed, be compared with that which is formulated in the Athanasian, or, better still, let the doctrine of the Atonement of the Apostolic Formula be compared with that of Melanchthon's *Confessio Augustana*, and the progress furthered by the wrestling of ages will be appreciated. What earlier teachers have felt as matter of sentiment and personal experience, later expositors have known as the invaluable possession of the reason; and how priceless an inheritance that man leaves to his kind who gives adequate expression to the unexpressed, whether poet, painter, architect, statesman, lawyer or theologian, who shall measure? In fact, history teaches that it is with the divine revelation in the Scriptures as with the divine revelation in nature; the Scriptures are an inexhaustible mine of precious ore, with tiny nuggets for every one, but with large veins of wealth, ever more rich and ramifying, for him who delves the deepest and the most persistently with the best instruments. And ecclesiastical theology attests a progress in practice as well as in doctrine. There are sins once common in Church life which have died out, and the general aspect of ecclesiastical society, still far from ideal, evidently improves as the years roll on.

Yet again, fourthly, it is of extreme importance for the leaders of Christian thought to recognise with distinctness the peculiar theological problems of the present and the immediate future. We are inheritors of the past; we are progenitors of the future. We occupy a fixed position in time, and, whilst enjoying the fruits of the labours of our ancestors, we have to carry on those labours a few steps further. There are peculiar

dangers which beset our age, bequeathed by the ages before us; there are peculiar duties which devolve upon us, also the consequences of our place in time; there are special enigmas which we alone in the history of the world have been fitted to solve. The important thing is to realize with accuracy the task that is set us. A study of ecclesiastical theology can best impart that realization, enabling us to see to what point the past has brought us, and whither the next movement must take place. Consider, for example, the momentous questions of eschatology; they are especially problems for this age, and he only will study them wisely who, knowing the past, is able to avoid past pitfalls, and to profit by past successes.

Lastly, acquaintance with ecclesiastical theology is, as will be subsequently seen, *an indispensable preliminary to any satisfactory investigation of systematic Christian doctrine.* Data for doctrine and doctrine are not identical. The Bible presents us with data; ecclesiastical theology presents us with attempts to formulate doctrines from these Biblical data. It is therefore as imperative to study ecclesiastical theology as it is to formulate data into doctrine. To ignore the results attained by the many generations of Christian thinkers would be the greatest folly as well as the greatest egotism. It would be more; it would be deliberate rejection of divine guidance. The promised Paraclete does lead the Church in His own good time into all truth. The Romish communion is not wrong in declaring that the gift of the Holy Spirit dwells in the Church; its error lies in its narrow definition of the Church. It must necessarily, therefore, form part of any inquiry as to what is Christian doctrine, to ask what has been thought to be Christian doctrine. But the point will arise again when we deal with the method of doctrinal theology.

§ 72.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY.

WE have just spoken of the spiritual progress which ecclesiastical theology attests. It also attests a scientific progress. Like all the branches of theological science, ecclesiastical theology has certainly had a marked progress on the whole, together with intercalated periods of stagnation or retrogression. Strictly speaking, however, this progress does not date farther back than the Reformation.

PRIOR TO THE REFORMATION, we find materials for ecclesiastical theology, rather than ecclesiastical theology itself. It is true that Eusebius, by his famous history, in ten books, dealing with the time between the Incarnation and the year 324 A.D., won the title of the Father of Church History, but the title is somewhat misapplied. So much of the history of Eusebius was contemporary with the events he described, and, even when this was not the case, so much of what he wrote was a compilation from long perished sources, that his history is rather to be called annals, and classed with the original sources of Church history, than with elaborated histories. The same is true of the works of Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, who wrote in the fifth century, and of Theodorus and Evagrius who wrote in the sixth, each of whom took up the thread of the narrative where his predecessor had dropped it. Similarly, from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, with the exception of compilations from Eusebius and his successors, the history of the Church was little studied as such. Many chronicles were written, it is true,—stories of the Church in particular nations, narratives of individual monastic orders, biographies of single popes, bishops, missionaries, and saints, but all these books were again rather materials for history than history itself. The mapping of the entire course of the

Christian Church was foreign to the mental attitude of the time.

After the Reformation, we first pass to a complete Church history, to a full presentation of what we have called ecclesiastical theology, with the famous so-called *Magdeburg Centuries*, projected by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, and published, with the assistance of ten coadjutors, from 1559–1574, in thirteen folio volumes. Where was the Protestant Church before the Reformation, was the common Romanist question, and in these *Centuries* was given the Protestant reply. As the title suggests, this history treated of the church in Centuries, each century being considered under sixteen heads, viz.: (1) General View; (2) Extent of the Church; (3) The External Condition; (4) Doctrines; (5) Heresies; (6) Rites; (7) Polity; (8) Schisms; (9) Councils; (10) Bishops and Doctors; (11) Heretics; (12) Martyrs; (13) Miracles; (14) Jews; (15) Other Religions; (16) Political Changes.

These *Centuriæ Magdeburgenses* were epoch-making both as to method and contents. As to method, for this secular arrangement, of course with variations in the topical subdivisions, maintained its ground for two hundred years, Mosheim's well-known *Ecclesiastical History* being the last great work which followed it. The matter of the work also made an epoch, for it roused Romanists and Protestants to similar labours. The first great Romanist reply was that of Baronius (died 1607), in his great *Annales Ecclesiastici*, in twelve folio volumes, on which he spent thirty years of unwearied study. These *Annals* have been emendated and continued again and again. They formed for a long period the staple history of the Church from the Romish standpoint. Many Protestant works have also been penned along the lines of the *Magdeburg Centuries*, not only by Lutherans but by other sections of the Reformed Churches. Thus the Swiss Hottinger wrote in nine folio volumes the Calvinist counterpart (*Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti*, 1651, etc.); and in due time the Pietists had their "centuries" in the work of Gottfried Arnold, in two folio volumes (*Unparteiischer Kirchen und Ketzerhistorie*, 1699), and the Rationalists theirs in

Henke's history, published in 9 vols. at Brunswick from 1788 to 1820. All these books, however, and their imitators, were so mechanical in method, that, although they are still useful as accumulations of materials, their interest is now little more than historical. The modern conception of history has made them obsolete.

The MODERN EPOCH in ecclesiastical theology commenced with Neander. Neander first applied to the history of the Christian Church that new method in historical research which in the hands of Niebuhr had revivified the history of pagan Rome. Three principles guided his entire labours. He critically examined his sources; he scrupulously endeavoured to present the truth and to eschew bias; and instead of cataloguing leading men, events, and doctrines according to successive centuries, he strove to photograph the successive periods in the history of the Church as they appear not in arbitrary times and seasons, but in the Providence of God, using all historical data to show the growth of the Christian spirit. These three principles now govern all ecclesiastical theology worthy of the name, that is to say, scientific study of sources, scientific presentation of facts, and scientific inference of general truths; and it is the lasting honour of Neander to have been the pioneer in this fruitful exploration. Neander's history was another epoch-making book, and just for this reason, that it peculiarly breathed the modern spirit. The same spirit is now perceptible in all schools of thought, Lutheran, Calvinist, Romish, and Rationalist. More detailed illustration it is unnecessary to give here. The principal results of the application of this modern spirit will be best given in the characterizations of "Books Recommended."

§ 73.

DIVISION OF ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY.

FROM what has been said in the elucidation of the problem of the branch of theological science we are now considering, the study of ecclesiastical theology manifestly falls into three divisions, viz. the study of its SOURCES, the study of its PERIODS, and the study of its BRANCHES.

An indispensable preliminary to any scientific study of the history of the Christian Church, or of any period of that history, is an acquaintance, and a critical acquaintance, with all the varieties of DATA which constitute the accessible sources of knowledge. These sources are various. Information may be found in all those relics of the past commonly known as antiquities, in ancient temples and tombs and architectural structures of all kinds still extant, in inscriptions telling of great men or great deeds, in burial-places like the Roman catacombs, in seals of office, in coins, in medals and tokens cast in commemoration of noteworthy events. Information may also be found in writings of many kinds contemporary with the events we are investigating, in the acts of councils, in the bulls, decretals, and breves of popes, in published liturgies, in promulgated creeds and confessions, in the rules of monasteries or the regulations of churches, in sermons and pamphlets and lampoons, as well as in the express records made by authority or undertaken by individuals, whether historical or statistical. Histories written too late to be contemporary, but composed from sources no longer extant, like the famous history of Eusebius, may also be dignified by the title of original sources. Knowledge of any kind that is contemporary, or virtually contemporary, with the times that are being studied, becomes an original source for that specific period, and the deciphering of an almost

perished fresco, or the discovery of a buried urn, or the translation of letters of envoys stored in national or ecclesiastical archives, may be as useful for the solution of some point of difficulty as the more systematic deliverance of some contemporary historian. The student of ecclesiastical theology disdains no source however trivial from which he can hope to procure any item of intelligence. He searches in all fields, and brings a cultured criticism to bear upon all materials he can obtain. Contemporary sources alone do not make reliable history, but sources as weighed and judged by a keen and true and cultivated diplomatic instinct.

The PERIODS of ecclesiastical theology are well marked. They are certainly not to be judged by centuries, although there are subdivisions into centuries which are very near the truth, and hence the mechanical and unfaithful nature of the earlier method of the study of our science. The history of the Christian Church has had three great epochs, viz. first, that of the ancient Church, A.D. 33–A.D. 800, when it was possible to speak of a Catholic and undivided Church; secondly, that of the so-called Middle Age (A.D. 800–1517), when the Church of Christ has become divided into the two distinct branches of East and West; and thirdly, the modern era dating from the Reformation, when, in addition to the Romish and Eastern communions, we have as offshoots from the former the several Protestant communions. Each of these epochs are again subdivided into several well-marked periods.

The BRANCHES of ecclesiastical theology are also well marked. The history of the Church in its external relations divides into two parts, for, on the one hand, we have the relation of the Church to the State everywhere to consider, and on the other hand, we have the history of missions, or the relation of the Church to the unregenerate world. Then again, the history of the Church in its internal relations divides into several parts, for there require to be considered, first, the general character of the epoch or period under review; secondly, the biography of the leading men in the Church history of the time; thirdly, the theological teaching, and especially the history of doctrine; and fourthly, the

practice of the Church, its worship, morals, government, and art.

The whole scheme of the division of ecclesiastical theology would run as follows :—

I. The sources of ecclesiastical theology, viz.—
  1. Ecclesiastical archæology.
  2. Critical examination of written records of all kinds.

II. The periods of ecclesiastical theology, viz.—
  1. The Old-Catholic Age, consisting of—

Period (1) The Age of Persecution, from the death of the apostles to Constantine, A.D. 70–325.

,, (2) The Church of the Empire, from Constantine to Charlemagne, A.D. 325–c. 800.

  2. The Middle Age, consisting of—

Period (3) The Roman struggle for supremacy, from the foundation of the Carolingian Empire to the victory of the Papacy over the Empire under Innocent III., A.D. c. 800–1217.

,, (4) The Roman supremacy, from Innocent to Boniface VIII., A.D. 1217-1294.

,, (5) Gradual decay of Roman Catholicism and preparation for a reformation, from Boniface to Luther, A.D. 1294–1517.

  3. The Modern Age.

Period (6) The Reformation and Roman Catholic reaction, A.D. 1517–c. 1600.

,, (7) The Age of the Confessions, A.D. c. 1600–c. 1750.

,, (8) The spread of infidelity, and subsequently the revival of Christianity in Europe and America, A.D. c. 1750–the present.

III. The branches of ecclesiastical theology, viz.—
  (1) The history of Church and State.
  (2) The history of the constitution of the Church, or Church government or polity.
  (3) The history of missions.
  (4) The history of the Christian spirit.
  (5) The history of Christian biography.
  (6) The history of Christian teaching, and especially the history of doctrine.
  (7) The history of Christian practice.

§ 74.

OUTLINE OF ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY.

AFTER the distinction between the sources of ecclesiastical theology and those sources as elaborated (which has already occupied sufficient attention), nothing more needs be said upon the first division of our subject, except to give a few hints as to the principal works which deal with the written and monumental sources, as will be done in the next section. What is desirable here is, first, to give the briefest possible characterization of the several periods of ecclesiastical theology, and secondly, to add a short sketch of that very important branch which is called the history of doctrine.

I. *First*, then, A RUNNING CHARACTERIZATION OF THE SEVERAL PERIODS.

The FIRST PERIOD, from the death of the apostles to Constantine and the First General Council, A.D. 70–325, was *the Age of the Martyrs*, being the time of struggle, without the Churches and within. Without, the Churches contended for very existence with the Roman world. Church wrestled with State for life, and ultimately the Church became the victor. The spirit of the age was the martyr spirit. The leading biographies are biographies of martyrs. Christian practice was conditioned everywhere by the antagonism of the heathen world. Nevertheless, Christianity spread in spite of opposition, had overrun the whole Roman Empire before the period had completed much more than half its course, and had planted congregations in Armenia, Scythia, Parthia, and other regions beyond the rule of imperial Rome. Within the Church, there was conflict also. The Church had to constitute itself, both by self-development and by the gradual elimination of what was alien, in both of which tasks heresies played a large part,

notably Ebionitism, Gnosticism, and Montanism. The *principal ecclesiastical writers* are the so-called apostolic fathers (the letters of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Papias, Ignatius, and Polycarp, the Shepherd of Hermas, and some other writings), Justin Martyr, Irenæus (died c. 202), Tertullian (died c. 230), Origen (died 254), and Cyprian (died 258).

In the SECOND PERIOD, from A.D. 325 to the commencement of the ninth century, Christianity was the State religion of the Roman Empire. This also was a time of struggle, not for existence, but for the formulation of faith and practice. The age might be called *the Age of Councils.* The speculative tendency governed the formulation of doctrines in the Eastern Church, and the practical tendency in the Western. From the time of the Council of Chalcedon, 451, the decline of the Greek Church dates, that decline resulting from doctrinal disputes. Soon only the East remained to the Roman Empire. Under the inroads of the German peoples the Western Empire succumbed, but the conversion of the invaders to Christianity infused new life into the Western Church, at the same time that it facilitated the growth of the papacy. Another prominent feature of the time was the rise and spread of Mahometanism, to which the decay of the Eastern Church largely ministered. The *principal ecclesiastical writers* of the time were Athanasius (died 372), Basil (died 379), Gregory of Nyssa (died 394), Gregory of Nazianzum (died c. 390), Hilary (died c. 366), Ambrose (died 397), Chrysostom (died 407), Theodore of Mopsuestia (died 428), Jerome (died 420), Augustine (died 430), Gregory the Great (died 604), John of Damascus (died c. 754).

The THIRD PERIOD was *the Age of Papal Struggle for Supremacy.* In this period the final breach came between the Greek and Roman Churches, the Eastern Church pursuing thenceforth its own separate development,—if such a word be allowable for so feeble a history. Interest becomes concentrated upon the Western Church. The Western peoples are united under the Carolingian Empire and the papacy. The intelligence, piety, and religious influence of the Roman Church is manifested by such movements as scholasticism, the crusades, and the founding of monasteries. The struggle

becomes acute between the papacy and the empire. At length comes the inevitable conflict of the empire and the papacy for the lordship of the world. There is a final recognition of the supreme headship of the Pope under Pope Innocent III. The *principal ecclesiastical writers of the* period were Rabanus Maurus (died 856), Paschasius Radbertus (died 870), Johannes Scotus Erigena (died c. 880), Berengarius (died 1088), Lanfranc (died 1089), Anselm (died 1109), Abelard (died 1142), Bernard of Clairvaux (died 1153), Hugo of St. Victor (died 1141), Richard of St. Victor (died 1173), Peter Lombard (died 1164).

The FOURTH PERIOD, from 1217–1294, was *the Age of the Papal Prime*. The Eastern Church was still pursuing its own course, but historical interest is almost wholly centred in the West. The intellectual movements of the time are seen in the finest productions of scholasticism; the piety of the time is evident in such choice spirits as Francis of Assisi and Saint Elizabeth, and in such choice churches as the cathedral churches of Paris, Salisbury, Strasburg, Amiens, and Rheims, St. Gudule at Brussels, and the Liebfrauenkirche at Trèves; the religious leanings of the time are signalized by the great success of the various monastic orders. The *principal ecclesiastical writers* were Matthew Paris (died 1259), Alexander of Hales (died 1245), Albertus Magnus (died 1280), Vincent of Beauvais (died 1264), Thomas Aquinas (died 1274), Bonaventura (died 1274), Roger Bacon (died 1292).

To the FIFTH PERIOD, from Boniface to Luther, the name may be given of *the Age of the Decay of Pre-tridentine Rome*, or *the Age of the Preparation for the Reformation*. The papal idea lost its attractiveness, partly because of papal schisms, as when two popes ruled, and partly because of the resentment of States against the absolute rule of the papal curia. And preparation was being made for the Reformation on other sides than the political. The morals of Rome had sunk to a low level; a high standard of piety had been reached by the German mystics; the renaissance and the resurrection of classical antiquity had given a great impetus to intellectual culture; men like Wiclif, and Hus, and Savonarola were already throwing off intellectual allegiance to Rome.

The *leading ecclesiastical writers* of the time were Johannes Duns Scotus (died 1308), Meister Eckhart (died 1329), William of Occam (died 1347), Johann Tauler (died 1361), John Wiclif (died 1384), Jean a Gerson (died 1429), Matthias von Janow (died 1395), Nicolas de Clémanges (died 1440), Thomas à Kempis (died 1471), Nicolaus Cusanus (died 1464).

The SIXTH PERIOD, from 1517 to c. 1600, is known as *the Age of the Reformation*, the Reformation extending to the Western Church alone, the Eastern communions still following their individual development. More exactly it should be called the Age of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Protestantism became firmly established in Germany, Switzerland, and Great Britain, but was, by the combined action of the new order of the Jesuits and the Council of Trent, defeated in Italy, Spain, at first in the Netherlands, and ultimately in France. The *principal ecclesiastical writers* were Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, Calvin, and Socinus.

Of the SEVENTH PERIOD, extending from the beginning of the seventeenth century to about the middle of the eighteenth century, the general character is again well summarized by calling it *the Age of the Confessions*. Romanism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism were all formulating their beliefs, and carrying their distinctive principles to their logical conclusions, whilst, as opposed to these, other lines of thought were also being formulated, such as Arminianism, Socinianism, and the new philosophies introduced by Descartes and by Bacon.

To the present age it is scarcely possible to apply a name as yet, although its mission seems to be, by a process of critical assimilation, to erect a Christian as distinguished from a confessional theology.

II. *Secondly*, A FEW WORDS ON that important branch of ecclesiastical theology called historical dogmatics or THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

The history of Christian doctrine deals with Christian doctrine historically. Its aim is to exhibit historically the formulation of the faith during the course of the Christian Church, and to exhibit this formulation, quite irrespective of its success or its failure, its right reasons or its false trend.

Like all history, the science is governed by a law of development. Therefore the history of doctrines sets forth the several forms which the system of Christian doctrine has assumed at different epochs; it also expounds the many variations of form in the individual doctrines of Christianity; it shows at the same time the changes of doctrinal opinion which have been brought about by new forms of culture or conviction; and it equally throws the strongest possible light upon the imperishable in Christian doctrine, which is rendered all the more evident by the fluctuations of the non-essential. In short, the history of doctrines brings the historical method, with all its force and usefulness, to bear upon the beliefs of all Christian ages and climes. How invaluable an introduction such a study must be to that critical investigation of Christian doctrine upon which we speedily enter must be evident at a glance! How invaluable also in showing the presence of the abiding Spirit of God! The history of doctrines completes the study of ecclesiastical theology, introduces to comparative theology, and, as already pointed out, has many a moral and religious use.

The history of doctrines—or ecclesiastical dogmatics, as we might say, to retain the parallel with Biblical dogmatics—is, like the latter, divided into two main parts, the one of which deals with the general history of doctrines, and the other with the special history. The former strives to present the peculiar features of each phase of the life of the Christian Church; the latter endeavours to pursue the historical development of each leading branch of Christian doctrine.

The whole division would therefore run as follows,—and it will be noticed that the subdivisions substantially agree with the periods of ecclesiastical theology:—

I. General history of doctrines—
   1. In the days prior to the Council of Nicæa, 325.
   2. In the age of councils, from the first Œcumenical Council of Nicæa to the seventh at Nicæa, 787.
   3. In the age of scholastic systems, from 800–1517.
   4. In the Reformation Age.
   5. In the age of the conflicts of confessions.
   6. In the present age of criticism.

II. Special history of doctrines, viz.—

1. The history of the doctrine of God.
2. ,, ,, spirits.
3. ,, ,, the world.
4. ,, ,, man.
5. ,, ,, sin.
6. ,, ,, Christ.
7. ,, ,, salvation.
8. ,, ,, the Church.
9. ,, ,, the last things.

§ 75.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON ECCLESIASTICAL THEOLOGY.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

SCHAFF, PHILIP, *History of the Christian Church*, new edition, T. & T. Clark, 1883, etc.; *Apostolic Christianity*, in 2 vols.; *Ante-Nicene Christianity*, A.D. 100–325, in 2 vols.; *Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity, from Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great*, A.D. 600, in 2 vols.; *Mediæval Christianity, from Gregory the First to Gregory the Seventh*, A.D. 1073, in 2 vols. [If Dr. Schaff is able to continue this history, it will be the best introductory aid for the English student; it is well written; careful attention is paid to the related literature everywhere; and the spirit of the author is catholic. . . . For the Reformation and Post-Reformation periods, the student is at present recommended to select from the books which follow in their due place.]

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

NOTE.—Very complete references to the bibliography of this division of theology will be found in HAGENBACH, *Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Theologischen Wissenschaften*, 11th edit. 1884, pp. 271–300. From Hagenbach's historical bent, the whole of this division of his work is excellent. The English student can refer to Crook and Hurst's translation (where further English books are also added), pp. 316–342. The manuals of Hase and Kurtz, to be named presently, make a strong point of bibliography, each doing for ecclesiastical theology what is done in this book for theology in general. Bulletins upon the newest literature of ecclesiastical theology, as well as good original articles, will be found in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, published at Gotha quarterly since 1876.

(1.) *Of Ecclesiastical Theology in general.*

GIESELER, J. K. L., *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte,* Bonn 1824–53, 3 vols. in 8 parts; a fourth edition of the first 2 vols. was published in 1847; 4th, 5th, and 6th vols. have been edited from his papers, the last vol. giving a history of doctrine; the first three volumes, reaching to the Reformation, have also been translated by S. Davidson and J. W. Hull, in 5 vols., under the title of *A Compendium of Church History,* T. & T. Clark, 1854–55. [Presents the materials for Church history by giving carefully-selected extracts from the original authorities, which are critically expounded.]

NEANDER, A., *Allgemeine Geschichte der christ. Religion und Kirche,* Hamburg 1825–52, 6 vols. in 11 parts, 4th edit. 9 vols., Gotha 1864–65; also translated from the second German edition by Joseph Torrey, under the title, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church,* 9 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1851–55. [Scholarly, ingenious, fair, and evangelical.]

HASE, C. A., *Kirchengeschichte, Lehrbuch zunächst für akademische Vorlesungen,* 1st edit. 1834, 10th edit. 1877, Leipsic. [A manual to accompany lectures; German bibliography carefully attended to, and the line drawn everywhere between original and elaborated sources; its sketches are miniatures, brilliant, perhaps too brilliant.] It was translated by C. E. Blumenthal and C. P. King, New York 1855, under the title, *A History of the Christian Church.*

HAGENBACH, K. R., *Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zum* 19 *Jahrhundert, in Vorlesungen, neue, durchgängig über-arbeitete Gesammtausgabe,* Leipsic, 7 vols., 1869–1872, commenced in 1834. Parts have been translated, viz. *History of the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland chiefly, translated from the fourth revised edition of the German by Evelina Moore,* 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1878, 1879, and *History of the Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, translated from the last German*

edition, with additions, by J. F. Hurst, New York, 2 vols., 1869. [An impartial and well-written history, adopting the lecture form.]

KURTZ, J. H., *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte,* Mitau 1849, 9th edit. in 3 vols., 1885; translated by Alfred Edersheim under the title, *History of the Christian Church to the Reformation,* T. & T. Clark, 1860, 5th edit. 1880, and *History of the Christian Church from the Reformation to the Present Time,* 3rd edit., T. & T. Clark, 1881. [Another excellent manual for students, paying much attention to German bibliography; the later English editions are not level with the later German editions.]

ROBERTSON, J. C., *History of the Christian Church,* 1st edit. 4 vols., 1854, etc., 2nd edit. 8 vols. 12mo, 1874, etc., Murray. [Written by an Episcopalian; candid and scholarly; ends at the Reformation.]

BAUR, F. C., *Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche,* 5 vols., Tübingen 1863–1877; the first vol. has been translated by Allan Menzies under the title, *The Church History of the First Three Centuries,* 2 vols., Williams & Norgate, 1878, 1879. [Ranks with Neander and Gieseler, but over-speculative.]

WEINGARTEN, H., *Zeittafeln zur Kirchengeschichte,* Berlin, 2nd edit. 1874. [Presents the history of the Church in an ably-arranged series of chronological tables; a better book than Riddle's *Ecclesiastical Chronology, or Annals of the Christian Church from its Foundation to the Present Time, containing a view of general Church history and the course of secular events, the limits of the Church and its relation to the State, controversies, sects, and parties, rites, institutions, discipline, ecclesiastical writers, the whole arranged according to the order of dates, and divided into seven periods, to which are added Lists of Councils, and of Popes, Patriarchs, and Archbishops of Canterbury,* Longmans, 1840: this latter book English readers will use with advantage.]

HERZOG, J. J., *Abriss der Gesammten Kirchengeschichte,* in 3 parts, Erlangen 1876–82. [A good and well-written abridgment, from the standpoint of an Old Catholic.]

HERGENRÖTHER, J., *Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte,* 2 vols., Freiburg 1876–78, 3rd edit. 1884–85. [Reaches

to the Reformation; shows the ripest Roman Catholic scholarship.]

CHASTEL, E., *Histoire du Christianisme depuis son origine jusqu' à nos jours*, in 5 vols., Paris 1881–83. [Concise.]

SCHMID, H., *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 2 parts, Erlangen 1880–81. [Ends with the Reformation; also well written and concise.]

(2.) *Sources—Monuments and Inscriptions.*

DIDRON, M., *Iconographie chrétienne*, Paris 1841, 4to; translated under the title of *History of Christian Art in the Middle Ages*, vol. i., 12mo, Bohn, 1851.

MAITLAND, CHAS., *The Church in the Catacombs, a description of the Primitive Church of Rome, illustrated by its Sepulchral Remains*, 2nd edit., Longmans, 1847.

BLANT, E. LE, *Inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule*, 2 vols., Paris 1856.

DE ROSSI, G. B., *Inscriptiones christianæ urbis Romæ vii. sæculo antiquiores*, 2 vols. 4to, Rome 1857.

PIPER, F., *Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie*, Gotha 1867.

MARRIOTT, W. B., *The Testimony of the Catacombs and of other Monuments of Christian Art, from the 2nd to the 18th Century, concerning Questions of Doctrine now disputed in the Church*, Hatchard, 1870.

LÜBKE, W., *Vorschule zum Studium der kirchlichen Kunst des deutschen Mittelalters*, 6th edit., Leipsic 1873, 216 illustrations; translated by L. A. Wheatley under the title, *Ecclesiastical Art in Germany during the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh 1876.

NORTHCOTE, J. S., and W. R. BROWNLOW, *Roma Sotterranea, or an Account of the Roman Catacombs, especially of the Cemetery of St. Callixtus, compiled from the works of Commendatore de Rossi with the consent of the Author*, new edition, part i. History, part ii. Christian Art, 2 vols., Longmans, 1879, illustrated by woodcuts and chromos.

NORTHCOTE, J. S., *Epitaphs of the Catacombs, or Christian*

Inscriptions in Rome during the First Four Centuries, Longmans, 1878.

ROLLER, THÉOPHILE, *Les Catacombes de Rome, Histoire de l'Art et des Croyances Religieuses pendant les Premiers Siècles du Christianisme*, 2 vols. folio, Paris 1880. [Illustrated by 100 plates, mostly photographed directly by means of the lime-light; a splendid work.]

(3.) *Sources—Councils.*

MANSI, J. D., *Conciliorum nova et amplissimâ collectio*, 31 vols. folio, Florence and Venice 1759, etc. A new edition is being now prepared by a photographic process. [More complete than the Paris collection of Harduin; the standard work.]

HEFELE, C. J. VON, *Conciliengeschichte, nach den Quellen bearbeitet*, 2nd edit., Freiburg, 1st vol. 1873, 2nd vol. 1875, 3rd vol. 1877, 4th vol. 1879. [Reaches at present to the year 1073; an elaborate and critical work.] To A.D. 451 translated, in 3 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1871–1883.

(4.) *Sources—Acta Paparum.*

NOTE.—The list of published *Acta* is given completely in KURTZ, *Lehrbuch*, edit. 8, § 3.

(5.) *Sources—Creeds.*

PFOULKES, E. S., *The Athanasian Creed, by whom written and by whom published, with other inquiries on creeds in general reconsidered in an Appendix*, Hayes, 1872.

LUMBY, J. RAWSON, *The History of the Creeds*,—i. *Ante-Nicene;* ii. *Nicene and Constantinopolitan;* iii. *The Apostles' Creed;* iv. *The Quicunque, commonly called the Creed of St. Athanasius*, Bell & Sons, 1873.

WINER, G. B., *A Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom, with illustrations from their original standards, edited from the last edition, with an introduction by W. B. Pope*, T. & T. Clark, 1873. [Very useful.]

SWAINSON, C. A., *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, their Literary History, together with an Account of the Growth and Reception of the Sermon on the Faith, commonly called "The Creed of St. Athanasius,"* Murray, 1875.

SCHAFF, PHILIP, *A History of the Creeds of Christendom, with Translations;* also *The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches, with Translations;* also *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches,* 3 vols., Hodder, 1877; 4th edit., New York, 1884. [The standard book.]

(6.) *Sources—Acta Martyrum.*

RUINART, TH., *Acta Primorum Martyrum,* new edit., 3 vols., 1802.

ASSEMANNI, E., *Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orient. et Occident.,* 2 vols. folio, Rome 1748.

BOLLANDUS, J., ETC., *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur,* new edition, 54 vols. folio, 1863–70; *Continuatio,* 6 vols. An abbreviated edition by P. Guérin, in French, and in 17 vols. 8vo, is now in its 7th edition.

BUTLER, ALBAN, *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints, compiled from Original Monuments and Authentic Documents,* new edit., 12 vols., London and Dublin 1866.

(7.) *Sources—Geography.*

WILTSCH, J. E. T., *Kirchenhistorischer Atlas, von den ersten Zeiten der Ausbreitung des Christenthums bis zum Anfang des xvi. Jahrhunderts,* folio, Gotha 1843.

SPRUNER-MENKE, *Historische Atlas,* especially the *Hand-atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit,* 3rd edit. folio, Gotha 1880. [The best series of historical maps.]

FREEMAN, ED. A., *The Historical Geography of Europe,* in 2 vols.,—vol. i. Text, vol. ii. Maps, Longmans, 1881. [A good book; the maps are not like the above, but useful generalizations to illustrate the text.]

(8.) *Sources—Chronology.*

NOTE.—See for general works on chronology, with their explanations of the various eras (Ab urbe Condita, æra Seleucidarum, Diocletiana, Constantinopolitana, Dionysiana, etc.), § 59.

GROTEFEND, H., *Handbuch der histor. Chronologie der deutschen Mittelalter und der Neuzeit*, Hanover 1872.

(9.) *Sources—Philology.*

DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, 6 vols., Paris 1733; edit. G. Henschel, 7 vols. 4to, 1840: a new edition, enlarged, is now being edited by Léopold Favre, of which four 4to vols. have appeared. [Indispensable for the study of ecclesiastical Latin.]

MAIGNE D'ARNIS, W. H., *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, 1 vol., Paris 1866. [An abridgment of Du Cange and his editors, published by the Abbé Migne.]

(10.) *Sources—Editions of Fathers and Patristics.*

MIGNE, L'ABBÉ, *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus, seu Bibliotheca Universalis, integra, etc., omnium SS. Patrum, Doctorum, Scriptorumque Ecclesiasticorum*, Paris 1844, etc. [This, the latest, and on the whole, the best edition of both the Greek and Latin Fathers, includes all the Latin writers from the Apostolic Age down to the beginning of the 13th century, and the Greeks down to the 15th century. The former consists of 222 volumes, and the latter of 166 volumes. For purposes of reference this is the most convenient series. For very special studies the student would, of course, compare other editions, such as the several editions of De la Bigne, the *Bibliotheca Patrum Lugdunensis*, and the edition of Galland. Individual authors have also, of course, been more carefully edited.]

ROUTH, M. J., *Reliquiæ Sacræ secundi tertiique sæculi*, 5 vols., 2nd edit., Oxford 1846–48. [Fragments of early

writers laboriously extracted from other authors; indispensable.]

PUSEY, KEBLE, and NEWMAN, editors, *A Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the division of East and West, translated by members of the English Church, with notices of the respective Fathers, and brief notes by the editors where required, and summaries of chapters and indices*, 40 vols. issued, Oxford 1839, etc.

PARKER SOCIETY, *The Publications of the*, being the works of the Fathers and early writers of the English Church, 53 vols., with index, Cambridge 1840–53.

ROBERTS and DONALDSON, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library, a collection of all the works of the Fathers of the Christian Church prior to the Council of Nicæa*, 24 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1869, etc.

OTTO, J. C. T., *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Sæculi ii., græce et latine, cum annotatione critica et exegetica*, Jena, various dates from 1847. [Contains Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Hermias. The Justin now forms *Justini Opera*, 3 vols., 3rd edit. 1876–81, and is the best edition.]

OEHLER, F., *Corpus Hæresiologicum*, 5 vols., Berlin 1856–62. [Contains some minor heretical writers.]

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vienna 1866, etc. [Scholarly, and cheap; 11 vols. published, and now continuing; edited under the direction of the Academy of Vienna.]

CAVE, DU PIN, and OUDIN, see pp. 97–99.

ALZOG, J., *Handbuch der Patrologie*, 2nd edit., Freiburg 1876.

Corpus Reformatorum, Brunswick, 4to, 1834, etc. [Melanchthon's works in 28 vols., and Calvin's still publishing, 29 vols. having been issued.]

NIRSCHL, J., *Lehrbuch der Patrologie und Patristik*, 3 vols., Mayence 1881–1885. [Scholarly; Romanist.]

(11.) *The Apostolic Fathers.*

LECHLER, G. V., *Das apostol. und nachapostolische Zeitalter mit Rücksicht auf Unterschied und Einheit in Leben und*

Lehre, 3rd edit., Stuttgart 1885; translation in the press, T. & T. Clark, 1885.

JACOBSON, G., *Ignatii Romani, Polycarpi, Patrum Apostolicorum quæ supersunt, accedunt S. Ignatii et S. Polycarpi Martyria, ad fidem codicum recensuit, adnotationibus variorum et suis illustravit, indicibus instruxit*, 6th edit., 2 vols., Macmillan, 1863. [Scholarly.]

DONALDSON, JAS., *The Apostolical Fathers, a Critical Account of their Genuine Writings and of their Doctrines*, 12mo, Macmillan, 1874. [An admirable introduction.]

GEBHARDT, HARNACK, and ZAHN, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera, textum ad fidem codicum et Græcorum et Latinorum adhibitis præstantissimis editionibus recensuerunt commentario exegetico et historico illustraverunt apparatu critico versione Latina passim correcta prolegomenis indicibus instruxerunt, editio post Dresselianam alteram tertia*, fasc. 1, 1875; fasc. 2, 1876; fasc. 3, 1877; fasc. 1, part i., edit. ii., 1876. [The best critical edition, summarizing a large literature.]

M. C., *Le Pasteur d'Hermas, Analyse accompagnée d'une notice, d'extraits et de notes*, Paris 1880. [Gives a striking picture of the state of opinion and practice in the early Church.]

LIGHTFOOT, J. B., *The Apostolic Fathers, Revised Texts, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations*, vol. i., Macmillan, 1884; vol. ii., secs. i. and ii., 1885. [Bids fair to be the best English work.]

(11.) *Appendix*—"*The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.*"

ΒΡΥΕΝΝΙΟΥ, ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ, Διδαχη των δωδεκα Αποστολων, Constantinople 1883. [This is the discoverer's own edition of this great find, and has valuable prolegomena and notes.]

WUENSCHE, AUG., *Lehre der zwölf Apostel, nach der Ausgabe des Metropoliten Philotheos Bryennios mit Beifügung des Urtextes, nebst Einleitung und Noten, ins Deutsche übertragen*, 2nd edit., Leipsic 1884.

HILGENFELD, AD., *Evangeliorum secundum Hebræos, etc., addita Doctrina xii. Apostolorum et libello qui appellatus "Duæ*

Viæ" vel "Judicium Petri collegit, disposuit, emendata et aucta iterum edidit et adnotationibus illustravit, Leipsic 1884.

GEBHARDT and HARNACK, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur,* 2nd vol., part i., *Lehre der zwölf Apostel nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts,* part ii., *idem, Nebst Anhang; Ein übersehenes Fragment der Διδαχη in alter Lateinischer Uebersetzung,* Leipsic 1884.

SABATIER, PAUL, *La Didachè ou l'Enseignement des Douze Apôtres, texte Grec, avec un Commentaire et des Notes,* Paris 1885.

HITCHCOCK and BROWN, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, edited with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes, revised and enlarged,* New York, and Nimmo, 1885.

SPENCE, CANON, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, a Translation with Notes, and Excursus* (i. to ix.) *illustrative of the "Teaching" and the Greek Text,* 12mo, Nisbet, 1885.

SCHAFF, PHILIP, *The Oldest Church Manual, called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, in the original, with translations and discussions of post-apostolic teaching, baptism, worship, and discipline, with illustrations and facsimiles of the Jerusalem MS.,* T. & T. Clark, 1885. [Very complete.]

(12.) *Periods—Ancient Church History, First Eight Centuries.*

MILMAN, H. H., *History of Christianity, from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire,* 3 vols. 12mo, Murray, 1st edit. 1840; also *History of Latin Christianity, and of the Popes down to Nicholas V.,* 9 vols. 12mo. [Popular and large-hearted.]

NEALE, J. M., *A History of the Holy Eastern Church,* part 1, General Introduction, in 2 vols., Masters, 1850; the Patriarchate of Alexandria, in 2 vols., 1847; the Patriarchate of Antioch, a posthumous fragment, Rivingtons, 1873. [The standard book on its subject.]

PRESSENSÉ, E. DE, *Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'église,* Paris, 6 vols., 1858–77, translated by Annie Harwood-

Holmden under the title, *The Early Years of Christianity, a Comprehensive History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church*, Hodder, 4 vols., 1879. [A good popular history.]

RENAN, E., *Histoire des Origines du Christianisme*, Paris 1863–83, 7 vols., and 1 vol. index. [A history of the first two centuries, written in the characteristic style of the author, with the supernatural left out.]

STANLEY, ARTHUR PENRHYN, *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church, with an Introduction on the Study of Ecclesiastical History*, 3rd edit. 1864, Murray. [Has the best description of the Council of Nicæa in our language, and much information on the later phases of the Eastern Church.]

DOELLINGER, J. J. I. VON, *Hippolytus and Callistus, or the Church of Rome in the First Half of the Third Century, with special reference to the Writings of Bunsen, Wordsworth, Baur, and Gieseler, translated with introduction, notes, and appendices by Alfred Plummer*, T. & T. Clark, 1876.

BROGLIE, ALBERT DE, *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IV^e^ Siècle*, sixth edition, 3 parts in 6 vols. 12mo, Paris 1877–82. [The best history of the fourth century.]

WIESELER, K., *Die Christenverfolgungen der Cäsaren bis zum 3 Jahrh.*, Gütersloh 1878.

HARNACK, A., *Die Zeit des Ignatius und die Chronologie der Antiochenischen Bischofe bis Tyrannus nach Julius Africanus*, Leipsic 1878.

PÉLAGAUD, E., *Etude sur Celse et la première escaramouche entre la philosophie antique et le Christianisme naissant*, Lyons 1878.

UHLHORN, G., *Der Kampf des Christenthums mit den Heidenthum*, 3rd edit., Stuttgart 1879, translated under the title, *The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism*, New York 1879.

AUBÉ, B., *Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire Romain de la fin des Antonins au milieu du III^e^ Siècle*, 180–249, Paris 1881.

LANGEN, J., *Geschichte der Römische Kirche bis zum Pontifikate Leo's I.*, Bonn 1881.

DALE, A. W. W., *The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century*, Macmillan, 1882.

BACKHOUSE, ED., *Early Church History to the Death of Constantine, compiled by, edited and enlarged by Charles Tylor, second edition, with an appendix containing "the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,"* Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1885. [A popular book, written by a member of the Society of Friends, and choicely illustrated.]

(13.) *Periods—Middle Age.*

MICHAUD, J., *Histoire des Croisades*, Paris 1812, 6th edit. in 6 vols., 1840; translated by W. Robson under the title, *History of the Crusades*, new edit. with preface and supplementary chapter by Hamilton G. W. Mabie, 3 vols. 12mo, New York 1881. [The best history of the Crusades.]

GASS, W., *Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur und Dogmengeschichte des griechischen Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Berlin 1844–49. [Important studies of Aristotelianism, Platonism, and Mysticism in the Greek Church of the Middle Age.]

DAMBERGER, J. F., *Synchronistische Geschichte der Kirche und der Welt im Mittelalter*, 6 vols., Regensburg 1850–54. [Scholarly; Romanist.]

MAITLAND, S. R., *The Dark Ages, a Series of Essays intended to illustrate the State of Religion and Literature in the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Centuries*, 3rd edit., Rivingtons, 1853.

M'LAUCHLIN, THOS., *The Early Scottish Church: the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the First to the Twelfth Century*, T. & T. Clark, 1864.

HARDWICK, CHAS., *A History of the Christian Church during the Middle Ages, from Gregory the Great to the Excommunication of Luther*, 3rd edition by Wm. Stubbs, 12mo, Macmillan, 1872. [Excellent.]

REUTER, H., *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter vom Ende des achten Jahrhunderts bis zum Anfange des vierzehnten*, 2 vols., Berlin 1875–77. [Interesting and important.]

BRYCE, JAMES, *The Holy Roman Empire*, seventh edition, 12mo, Macmillan, 1880. [Deals most at length with the Middle Age.]

LACROIX, PAUL, *Military and Religious Life in the Middle Ages and at the Period of the Renaissance*, Bickers, 4to. [A translation of part of Lacroix's famous works on the *Moyen Age;* profusely illustrated from old prints and MSS.]

(14.) *Periods—Reformation.*

D'AUBIGNÉ, J. H. MERLE, *Histoire de la Réformation au XVI^e Siècle (au temps de Luther)*, 5 vols., Paris 1835–53, various editions; also *Histoire de la Réformation en Europe au temps de Calvin*, vols. i.-viii., 1862–1878. Various English translations have appeared, amongst which that by the Religious Tract Society has been revised by the author. [Still the best introduction to the period.]

ULLMANN, C., *Reformers before the Reformation, principally in Germany and the Netherlands—I. John of Goch; II. John of Wesel; III. The Brethren of the Common Lot and the German Mystics; IV. John Wessel*, translated by Robert Menzies, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1855. [A standard work.]

RANKE, L. VON, *Die Römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im sechszehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert*, 3 vols., 5th edit., Leipsic 1867; translations issued by Murray and Bohn.

—— *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 6 vols., 5th edit., Leipsic 1874.

HÄUSSER, L., *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Reformation*, edited by Oncken, Berlin 1867; translated by Mrs. G. Sturge under the title, *The Period of the Reformation*, 1517–1648, 12mo, New York 1874. [Excellent.]

HARDWICK, CHAS., *A History of the Christian Church during the Reformation*, 3rd edit. revised by Wm. Stubbs, Macmillan, 1873. [A good brief history.]

LECHLER, G., *Johann v. Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation*, 2 vols., Leipsic 1873.

(15.) *Periods—Post-Reformation.*

NOTE.—The history of the Church since the Reformation being largely the history of the religious relations of the several States of Europe, it has been thought desirable to arrange the prominent books belonging to this period under the various countries. A few books are also given which treat of the religious history of the United States. In some cases, for convenience of classification, books referring to the Reformation Period are included.

ENGLAND—

VAUGHAN, ROBERT, *Revolutions in English History*, 3 vols., 1859–62, Longmans. [The second volume treats of revolutions in religion.]

PERRY, GEO. C., *The History of the Church of England from the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time*, 3 vols., Saunders, Otley 1861–64.

BURNET, GILBERT, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, with the collection of records and an index, revised and corrected, with additional notes, by E. Nares*, 7 vols., Macmillan, 1865.

TULLOCH, JOHN, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1872.

BLUNT, JOHN HENRY, *The Reformation in the Church of England, its History, Principles, and Results* (A.D. 1514–1547), Rivingtons, 1878.

FRANCE—

FÉLICE, G. DE, *Histoire des Protestants de France, continuée jusqu' au temps actuel par F. Bonifas*, Paris 1874; translated under the title, *History of the Protestants of France*, 4th edit., New York 1851.

SMILES, SAMUEL, *The Huguenots in France, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, 12mo, Murray, 1876.

JERVIS, W. HENLEY, *The Gallican Church, a History of the Church of France from the Concordat of Bologna*, A.D. 1516, *to the Revolution, with an Introduction*, 2 vols., Murray, 1872.

BAIRD, HENRY M., *History of the Rise of the Huguenots*, 2 vols., Hodder, 1880. [Vol. i. From the beginning of the French Reformation to the edict of

January 1562 ; vol. ii. From the edict of January 1562 to the death of Charles the Ninth, 1574.]

GERMANY—

KAHNIS, K. F. A., *Der innere Gang des deutschen Protestantismus,* 3rd edit., 2 vols., Leipsic 1874–75 ; part has been translated by Thos. Meyer under the title, *Internal History of German Protestantism since the middle of last Century,* 12mo, T. & T. Clark, 1856.

NIPPOLD, FR., *Handbuch der neuesten Kirchengeschichte seit* 1814, *mit Vorwort von R. Rothe,* 3rd edit. 2 vols., Elberfeld 1880, 1881.

HOLLAND—

MOTLEY, JOHN LOTHROP, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic, a History,* a new edition in 3 vols. 12mo, Bickers, 1884.

——— *History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce—* 1609, new edit. in 4 vols., New York 1879.

HUNGARY—

D'AUBIGNÉ, J. H. MERLE, *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary to* 1850, *translated by J. Craig,* Nisbet, 1844.

KRASINSKI, V., *Religious History of the Slavonic Nations,* 2nd edit. 12mo, Edinburgh 1869.

IRELAND—

KILLEN, W. D., *The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Present Times,* 2 vols., Macmillan, 1875.

ITALY—

M'CRIE, THOS., *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century, including a Sketch of the History of the Reformation in the Grisons,* new edition of Works of Thomas M'Crie, vol. iii. 12mo, Blackwood, 1856.

POLAND—

KRASINSKI, V., *Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Reformation in Poland,* 2 vols., Murray, 1838.

Russia—

Mouravieff, A. N., *History of the Church of Russia, translated by R. W. Blackmore,* Masters, 1845.

Stanley, A. P., *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church,* see (12.) of this section. [The last four lectures deal with the history of the Græco-Russian Church.]

Scotland—

Hetherington, W. M., *History of the Church of Scotland, from the Introduction of Christianity to the Period of the Disruption, May* 18, 1843, 7th edit. 2 vols., Edinburgh 1852.

Spain—

M'Crie, Thomas, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century,* new edition, Works of Thomas M'Crie, vol. iii. 12mo, Blackwood, 1856.

Switzerland—

Muston, Alexis, *The Israel of the Alps, a History of the Persecutions of the Waldenses, translated by William Hazlitt,* 12mo, Ingram, Cooke, 1852.

Boehmer, E., *Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from* 1520, 2 vols., Trübner, 1883.

United States—

Baird, Robert, *Religion in America, or an Account of the Origin, Relation to the State, and Present Condition of the Evangelical Churches in the United States, with Notices of the Unevangelical Denominations,* New York 1856.

Religious Denominations of the United States, their Past History, Present Condition, and Doctrines accurately set forth in Fifty-three carefully-prepared Articles, written by eminent Clergymen and Lay Authors connected with the respective Persuasions, Philadelphia 1871.

(16.) *Branches—History of Church Government.*

Ziegler, W. K. L., *Versuch einer pragmatischen Geschichte der*

kirchlichen Verfassungsformen in den ersten 6 Jahrhunderten der Kirche, Leipsic 1798.

PLANCK, G. J., *Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der christl.-kirchlichen Gesellschaftsverfassung,* 5 vols., Hanover 1803–1805.

LECHLER, G. V., *Geschichte der Presbyterial- und Synodal-Verfassung seit der Reformation,* Leyden 1854.

SUGENHEIM, S., *Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung der Kirchenstaats,* Leipsic 1854.

DEXTER, HENRY MARTYN, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature, with special reference to certain recondite, neglected, or disputed passages, in twelve Lectures, delivered on the Southworth Foundation in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass.,* 1876–1879, *with a bibliographical appendix,* 4to, Hodder, 1879. [Full of the results of long research.]

HATCH, EDWIN, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches, eight Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year* 1880, *on the Foundation of the late John Bampton,* Rivingtons, 1881. [An important historical inquiry into the successive steps by which the great confederation of Christian societies found in the Middle Ages has been built up.]

(17.) *Branches—History of Missions.*

NOTE.—A good history of missions has yet to be written. A list of materials for such a work will be found in RAEDIGER, *Theological Encyclopædia,* English translation, vol. ii. pp. 259, 260, and in HURST, *Bibliotheca Theologica,* pp. 177–188, where lists of books in English will be found,—upon the general history and treatment of missions, upon the missions to the various countries of the earth, Africa, American Indians, China, etc., and upon the biographies of missionaries.

(18.) *Branches—History of the Growth of the Christian Spirit.*

LECKY, W. E. H., *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne,* 2 vols., 3rd edit., Longmans, 1877. [After an examination of the several theories of philosophic ethics, brilliantly presents the moral life, first of pagan

Rome, and next of Christian Rome, finishing with an excellent essay upon the influence of Christianity on the position of women.]

MATHESON, G., *Growth of the Spirit of Christianity from the First Century to the Dawn of the Lutheran Era*, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1877. [Very suggestive.]

BRACE, C. L., *Gesta Christi: a History of Human Progress under Christianity*, Trübner, 1883. [Striking.]

UHLHORN, G., *Die Christliche Liebesthätigkeit*, vol. i., *In der alten Kirche*, 2nd edit., Stuttgart 1884; vol. ii., *Im Mittelalter*, 1884. The first vol. has been translated under the title, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, T. & T. Clark, 1883. [Scholarly and interesting.]

(19.) *Branches—Christian Biography.*

NOTE.—Only those biographies are inserted here which are noteworthy both from the intrinsic importance of their subjects and the excellence of their treatment.

(*a.*) *Collections of Biographies.*

BOEHRINGER, F., *Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen, oder die Kirchengeschichte in Biographieen*, Zurich, 12 vols., 1842–1858, 2nd edit. Stuttgart 1873, etc. [Beginning with Ignatius and the Apostolic Fathers, and coming down to Reformation times, the history of the Church is grouped around prominent men; the biographies are well written and scholarly.]

BAUM, CHRISTOFFEL, HAGENBACH, ETC., *Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformirten Kirche*, 10 vols., Elberfeld 1857–1862. [Contains the lives of Zwingli, Œcolampad, Myconius, Capito, Bucer, Calvin, Bullinger, Beza, Peter Martyr, John a Lasco, Farel, Viret, Knox, and others.]

NITZSCH, K. J., editor, *Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der lutheranischen Kirche*, 8 vols., Elberfeld 1861–1875. [Contains the lives of Luther, Bugenhagen, Osiander, Melanchthon, Brenz, Rhegius,

Justus Jonas, Cruciger, P. Speratus, L. Spengler, von Amsdorf, P. Eber, Chemnitz, and Chytæus.]

Hook, W. F., *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury from St. Anselm to Juxon*, 12 vols., Bentley, 1860–1876.

(*b.*) *Individual Biographies.*

Abelard—Wilkens, C. A., *Peter Abälard*, Bremen 1855.

Deutsch, S. M., *Peter Abälard, ein kritischer Theologe des 12ten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1883.

Anselm—Hasse, F. R., *Anselm von Canterbury*, 2 vols, Leipsic 1843–1852; translated but abridged by Wm. Turner under the title, *Life of St. Anselm*, 12mo, Rivingtons, 1850.

Rémusat, Chas. de, *Saint Anselme de Cantorbéry, tableau de la vie monastique et de la lutte du pouvoir spirituel avec le pouvoir temporel au onzième siècle*, new edition, Paris 1856.

Rule, Martin, *The Life and Times of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of the Britains*, 2 vols., Kegan Paul, 1883.

Athanasius—Möhler, J. A., *Athanasius der Grosse und die Kirche seiner Zeit*, 2nd edit., Mainz 1844.

Augustine—Bindemann, C., *Der heilige Augustinus*, 3 vols., Berlin 1844–1869.

Poujolat, M., *Histoire de Saint Augustin, ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française*, 6th edit., Tours 1875.

Becket—Robertson, Jas. C., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Murray, 1859.

Bernard—Neander, A., *Der heilige Bernard und seine Zeit* 3rd edit., Gotha 1865.

Morrison, Jas. C., *The Life and Times of St. Bernard*, A.D. 1091–1153, new edit., Macmillan, 1868.

Calvin—Henry, Paul, *The Life and Times of John Calvin, the Great Reformer, translated from the German of, by Henry Stebbing*, 2 vols., Whittaker, 1849.

Bungener, Félix, *Calvin, his Life, his Labours, and his*

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(21.) *Branches—History of Christian Practice.*

NOTE.—Compare § 93.

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PART II

(Continued.)

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DIVISION V.

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.

§ 76.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.

HITHERTO four great sections of theology have been passed under rapid review. We now approach the fifth section, which from its high importance may be called the goal of the four previous branches, and the starting-point of the final branch. Comparative theology, or as many would say, systematic theology, utilizes the results both of Biblical doctrine and of the history of doctrine, not even disdaining to receive some important truths from natural and from ethnic theology. Nay, remembering that the doctrines of natural theology afford the highest results of that branch of religious science, and at the same time that the doctrines of ethnic theology present the supreme products of the study of the heathen religions, whilst similarly Biblical doctrine is the cream of Biblical science, just as historical dogmatics opens up the grandest lessons of the history of the Church, it is not too much to say that all the preceding branches receive at once their explanation and their apotheosis in comparative theology. In other words, the four preceding branches of theology, which severally culminate in their doctrinal teaching, supply the data from which comparative theology draws its inductions. From the data which these branches afford, comparative theology infers a system of reasoned and certain truth.

Whatever exception be taken to this NAME of comparative theology, it manifestly describes the method of the science in question. The science is distinctively a comparative science. It is true that some may regard the term "comparative" as already too much in vogue to express what is often called *the science of comparative religion*, that is to say, what we have called the data and inductions of ethnic

theology. Now, it is granted that there is ground for describing these facts and inferences as comparative theology; but, seeing that any lasting comparison must necessarily take account of the facts and inferences of Biblical and ecclesiastical theology as well, is there any good reason for refusing to extend the name, as we certainly must extend the method, to include a comparison where Christianity plays a part? On the other hand, some will probably prefer other names. Thus to some *systematic theology* will appear most appropriate. The term indubitably has a long usage in its favour. Nevertheless this branch of theology has no claim to a monopoly in the term, seeing that all theology, being science, is systematic. Some again will cleave to the name *doctrinal theology;* but this technicality seems more suitable, as will presently appear, for one of the two great subdivisions of comparative theology. Some may even regard the name *dogmatic theology* as the best. Here again, on the one hand, there is the undesirable association of the word dogma, and on the other hand, even supposing dogma to be understood to mean no more than doctrine, dogmatic or doctrinal theology seems a more distinctive appellation for the science which deals with doctrines, and with doctrines alone, the second subdivision of our science. On the whole, therefore, comparative theology, which bears its meaning on its front, seems the more desirable name. Comparative theology results from the rigorous application of the comparative method to all inductions concerning the supernatural.

Comparative theology, then, takes the doctrinal data afforded by natural, ethnic, Biblical, and ecclesiastical theology, and, by critical comparison, endeavours to build up a system of truth concerning God and man in their supernatural relations. Its method is comparison. Its data are the inductions of the preceding branches of theology. Its aim is valid inference. Its ideal is a system of valid inference. Comparative theology, which would compare the truths resulting from the four sciences which provide its data, and construct therefrom a system of religious truth, is, in short, a *science* (an orderly and reasoned presentation of the general truths deducible from its specific class of facts); it is a *theological* science (its truths

concern religion); it is a *comparative* theological science (it compares religious truths of various kinds, and orders so as to build up a system of religious truth).

The PROBLEM, then, of comparative theology is to compare all the data afforded by natural, ethnic, Biblical, and ecclesiastical theology, and to construct therefrom a system of religious truth.

§ 77.

UTILITY OF COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.

FROM what has been said as to the problem comparative theology aims at resolving, the utility of such a science is manifest. How wide must be the influence of a branch of knowledge the purpose of which is to present in a reasoned and systematic form all the legitimate inferences which can be drawn from the religious convictions of mankind! How weighty must be the results of a science which endeavours to propound as reasoned and ordered truth all that is known by man of his supernatural relations!

For, FIRST, *seeing that truth of any kind is its own reward, at once satisfying, quickening, enlarging, and strengthening the mind, and especially truth that is systematized, what shall be said of the intrinsic value of so inexpressibly important a branch of truth as religion?* If truth concerning the supernatural relations of man, imaging the past, explaining the present, and forecasting the future, is attainable in any degree, such truth, however limited or however faulty, especially if reasoned and systematized, must possess an incalculable interest for the human race. Knowledge of the natural world, however thrilling, or knowledge of the natural self, however precious, can never be comparable with knowledge of nature or of self as associated with God. To fasten the last link of being to the foot of Jupiter's chair, as the ancients would have said, is to strengthen every link.

This leads to saying, SECONDLY, that *all the previous branches of theology receive in comparative theology a nobler setting.* If the truths of natural theology, for example, possess their own peculiar capacity of edification, as well as impart a distinctive pleasure, will this delight or this teaching be lessened by interweaving those truths into a systematic

presentation, which at once utilizes them, gives them their due prominence, co-ordinates them with all other religious truth, and makes them minister to the production of a great scientific whole, more cogent because more connected? Will not the truths of ethnic theology again become aggrandized when their due place and weight are assigned them in the system of religious truth? In this book no shadow of doubt will be thrown upon the transcendent claims of the Bible, the record of exceptional divine revelation, the inspired instrument in the proclamation of renovating divine mercy; but do not the truths of the Bible even receive an added importance, when, appropriately placed in the complete scheme of religious truth, they manifestly supplement and complete the earlier revelations given in nature and in the extra-Christian world, and whilst contributing their part to the systematized whole, they evidently receive as well as give support by their association with other religious truths? The history of doctrines, again, in the Christian Church is the crown of ecclesiastical theology; but fascinating and enlarging as is the study of this branch of religious history, it must yield in interest and instructiveness to comparative theology; for, on the one hand, comparative theology adjudicates as to the truth or falsity of the various doctrines which the history of doctrine simply presents without bias, and on the other hand time, which plays a most important part in the history of doctrines, has no place in the study of comparative theology. Whatever interest, in short, lies in the inductions of the four preceding branches of theology is necessarily augmented in a science which takes those very inductions, and presents them in their appropriate relation and due proportion in an organic system of truth.

THIRDLY, *the systematic form of comparative theology has both its intrinsic and its probative value.* Facts are interesting, but inferences from a wide range of facts are much more so. Isolated reasonings are precious; but innumerable reasonings blended into one great scientific whole are priceless. Now it is just with reasonings from a wide range of facts, and with inferences which have become affiliated and systematized, that comparative theology deals. For intellectual interest alone, therefore, few sciences can compare with comparative theology;

but when we remember the exalted practical bearings of the truths it teaches, and superadd to the mere intellectual interest that higher personal concern, how magnetic is the spell of our science! And how probative is its form! A fact here or a fact there may be questioned; an opinion in one place or an opinion in another may seem open to doubt; but shape the facts and theories into a connected whole, and their strength is augmented a hundred-fold. By becoming a bundle, the separate sticks become infrangible. By interweaving, slight threads become capable of strain. Bricks and wood and mortar and glass and hardware, in themselves insignificant, may rightly attract notice when they have become a building. Indeed, one of the readiest ways of removing ideas from the realm of opinion is to blend them if possible into a consistent whole. Similarly, the arrangement of all doctrines in a luminous and mutually supporting order is of the highest utility, facilitating the perception of the relationship, whether of priority, co-ordination, or consecution, of each point of doctrine to all others, and rendering the recognition easy of universal as contrasted with local belief, of abiding as contrasted with temporary conviction, of vital as contrasted with non-essential truth. Any Christian believer may rejoice in isolated experiences and individual opinions, but the student of comparative theology may have the deeper and more lasting joy of impregnable and catholic belief; and even where this certain belief is as yet unattainable, the knowledge has its worth which knows how much of any given problem has been and how much has still to be solved. Consistency is always preferable to inconsistency; thoroughness of research is always more desirable than ignorance of bearings; the product of reason is better than the product of feeling; nay, the very consciousness of difficulties not yet overcome is more excellent than the tyro's dread of unforeseen contingencies, or even than his juvenile security, which, to say the least, is untried.

FOURTHLY, *there is a high value in the accurate formulas of comparative theology.* Necessary as it is to commence the study of any subject by a careful and precise apprehension of definitions, let it never be forgotten that these definitions which are the first objects of acquaintance to the learner,

are the last objects of discovery to the investigator. The whole progress of science might be characterized by a history of definitions. Elementary as these definitions often appear, the history of their framing is the history of great controversies. Definitions are the high-water marks of present knowledge, which are exceeded again and again as the tide continues rising. Definitions are not readily obtained. They indicate very decided advance. As Dr. Whewell admirably said in his *Novum Organum Renovatum*, "The writers on logic, in the Middle Ages, made definition the last stage in the progress of knowledge, and in this arrangement at least, the history of science, and the philosophy derived from the history, confirm their speculative views." Darwin works for many years before he is able to put forth what is virtually a new definition of the origin of species. Definitions of heat and light and colour are occupying the attention of our foremost physicists. In a word, no discovery in science is ever really made until it has been put into a definition, that definition supplying at once both a means of knowing what the discovery really is, and of testing its reality. Now doctrinal formulas, or dogmas as the more technical term has it, are the definitions of comparative theology. They register discoveries. They have only been drawn up after long inquiry, and often after protracted conflict. They are as useful to the teacher or the learner as the definitions of chemistry or the formulated results of any other inductive branch of investigation. These doctrinal formulas mark the state of present knowledge, and point the way for future research. Where they are true to the facts of the case, they can always be utilized with profit; and where they do not harmonize with all the facts known, they call loudly for amendment. What, for example, is the long controversy upon the nature of the atonement but a search for a true definition? Where lies the preciousness of the Nicene creed but in the fact of its being a precise definition of the mystery of the Trinity? What is catholic truth but a series of definitions universally accepted by Christians? All the results of comparative theology are summarized in doctrinal formulas, and whether they are

adequate formulas or inadequate, their utility is manifest. If they are adequate, they accurately express religious truth, which is at once so precious and so difficult of attainment. If they are not adequate, it is around these definitions that truth-seekers must gather, the rival armies continuing their warfare until the true flag is victorious.

FIFTHLY, *the study of comparative theology has its practical usefulness.* All truth enriches practice, and comparative theology which searches after religious truth should abundantly enrich religious practice. The more nearly we rethink the divine thoughts, the more nearly should we repeat the divine acts. It is true that upon many doctrinal knowledge has a lamentable hardening effect; but it is to be feared that this is the result either of a sense of perfect knowledge already attained, or of the little knowledge which is always dangerous. In either case, the one corrective necessary is the conviction of the need of further study. Surely the investigation of religious truth should impart a refinement of spiritual taste! Surely the knowledge in any degree of our supernatural relations should increase susceptibility of conscience! Surely familiarity with the principles of present results of the long investigation into divine truth should impart a spiritual wisdom, which detects sin in its most secret form, which perceives error in its most successful disguise, and which sobers the judgment by making present acts a part of an eternal history! The greater the knowledge of religious truth, the more worthy and the more easy should be the just conduct of life. In one respect, at any rate, the study of comparative theology will be of great practical value. Dangerous errors in belief, and that theological narrowness which is itself so gigantic an error, more frequently arise from limitation of view than from any other cause, and are best cured, therefore, by such a study as this of comparative theology, which, by showing the entire range of the subject, by emphasizing beliefs which are unanimously held, by disclosing beliefs which are local, immature, or superseded, checks loose modes of thought, represses declamatory forms of expression, and condemns the fanatical and hard spirit.

And, LASTLY, *a study of comparative theology will strengthen*

the judgment as to the best methods of communicating and defending Christian truth, and will therefore render the highest service to the religious teacher. To be positive where truth is certain, and which is the same thing, to be positive where error is certain; to be free from dogmatism where truth is not so certain, and which is again the same thing, not to be dogmatic where error is not so pronounced; this is the wise temper of the public teacher. He betrays his cause who is over-positive about contingent truth; just as he betrays his cause who is under-positive about assured truth. Now this judicial temper, neither shrinking from positive utterance, nor afraid of withholding decision, is born both of knowledge and of practice, of wide knowledge of bearings and facts, and long experience of actual contact with the requisite class of evidence. Would the religious teacher learn where he may be rightly categorical, let him consult comparative theology for its assured results. Would he learn where he will be wisely hypothetical, let him again consult comparative theology, which will guide him as surely to what is as yet unsettled. And what is true of the temper of the teacher is true of his method. Let him present in popular form what the science of comparative theology presents in scientific manner, and his statement of truth will be as wise as his defence of truth will be masterly.

§ 78.

HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.

BUT before we proceed with the exposition of this section of theology, it will be well to cast some rapid glances upon the history of the subject. The history will make plain that opinions have varied largely upon the data, upon the classes of data, from which comparative theology should draw its inferences, just as opinions have varied largely as to the inferences themselves. Indeed, the course of the comparative studies of the past shows with abundant clearness that at bottom the greatest doctrinal controversies have been controversies as to standpoints, or, to adopt the phrase just used, as to the classes of data available for inference. Romanism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Rationalism, Mysticism, what are these at bottom but advocates of the eligibility of various classes of data,—Scripture, tradition, reason, the inner light,—for the framing of doctrines?

ORIGEN was *the father of comparative theology*, for his great work *Περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, extant alas! only in the inaccurate translation of Rufinus *De Principiis*, was the first attempt at a systematic presentation of the truth derivable from the several sources of supernatural knowledge, and pioneer work though it was, and individualistic upon many points, can only be read to-day with respect. Natural and ethnic theology as well as Biblical supplied him with data. Augustine followed in the footsteps of Origen, giving very suggestive outlines of a system of theology in his *De Doctrina Christiana*, *De Civitate Dei*, *De Fide ac Symbolo*, and *De Ecclesiæ Dogmatibus*. Similar attempts at systematic form were made in the Latin Church by Fulgentius of Ruope, by Gennadius and Junilius, and in the Greek Church by Gregory of Nyssa, and by Cyril of Jerusalem. The transition from the Patristic to the

Scholastic Age is seen in Isidore of Seville, whose *Sententiæ* displays the character of both epochs. However, in the Patristic Age, the time had not yet come for any perfection of system. Detail must precede generalization; minute inspection of parts must go before broad survey of wholes; and separate doctrines must be formulated before a system can be framed with wisdom. The great labours of the Patristic Age were upon individual doctrines. By the arguments of polemics and the debates of councils, the leading problems of the doctrines of God and of Christ and of man were not only stated, but conducted some considerable way towards solution. Interesting, therefore, as are its systematic productions as historical monuments, and beautiful as they are in the leading instances as literary masterpieces, powerful even as they are in isolated expositions, they are as systems necessarily marked by the debility as well as the vigour of the premature. In one respect there was more liberality of view. A larger use was made of data derived from the study of nature and of heathenism than was common in the next age.

Passing on to THE SCHOLASTIC AGE, comparative theology now came into the hands of "doctores," not "patres," of men marked by systematization rather than origination. This new period commenced with the publication of the "Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" of John of Damascus, for from that time, as Hagenbach says, "there was manifested a more definite attempt to arrange in a systematic whole, and to prove dialectically, what had been obtained by a series of conflicts." The principal works of the age were the *Sententiarum Libri Quatuor* of Peter of Lombardy, the *Introductio in Theologiam* and the *Theologia Christiana* of Peter Abelard, the *Summa Universæ Theologiæ* of Alexander of Hales, the *Summa Theologiæ* of Albert the Great, and the magnificent *Summa Summarum* of Thomas Aquinas. A tolerable estimate of the activity of the entire period is given in the common division of the scholastic divines into *Sententiarii* (whose works were mostly methodized collections of passages from the Scriptures and the Fathers, as in the instance of Peter Lombard), into *Summistæ* (or authors of original works, as Aquinas), into *Quodlibetarii*

(or eclectics like Duns Scotus), and into *Mystici* (or mystics like Bernard and Bonaventura, who sought to promote vital and practical religion, and who protested against over-speculation in theology). But however varied the theological activity of the time, there is a family likeness amongst all the scholastic theologians. It was at once the virtue and the vice of the time to make the syllogism the type of all science. The scholastics are nothing if not systematic. There is a careful subordination of conclusions to premises everywhere, this is the virtue of the age; but there is too careless an assumption of the truth of the premises, this is the vice. Deduction was rigorously pursued to its logical consequences. The statements of Scripture,—and alas! quite as frequently the declarations of the Fathers and the councils,—were made the unquestioned first principles of their doctrinal procedure; their definitions and axioms and postulates, and the whole problem of comparative theology, in their view, was to deduce a series of doctrinal propositions from these assumptions with the rigour and orderliness of Euclid. Scholasticism is, as we have previously said, the science of the papist, silent as to data, subtle as to consequences. Another age had to carry inquiry back from conclusions to premises, from consequences to data, from mathematical method to scientific, from deduction to induction. In the Scholastic Age the main contributions to comparative theology were systematic; the declarations of Scripture and of tradition, as the opinions of the early Fathers and the ecclesiastical councils came to be called, were arranged in order and employed as premises for inference; as yet the question as to the criteria of Christian truth had scarcely come into prominence. To use our previous terminology, the Scholastic Age busied itself with questions as to inferences from the data before them, rather than with problems as to the relative value of classes of data. Let the curious student occupy himself for a few hours with even the finest products of the time in illustration, the writings of Anselm and Aquinas. The tendency of the time was to exalt ecclesiastical data above Biblical, tradition above Scripture.

The new impulse that was required for the renovation of

comparative theology came in the Reformation, from the throes of which exciting time three distinct types of comparative theology arose in THE REFORMATION CENTURY, viz. the Romish, the Lutheran, and the Reformed or Genevan, each of which has since had its characteristic development. Lutheran comparative theology is seen at its best in the Reformation century in Melanchthon's *Loci Communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicæ* (which great work passed through various forms from a sort of exposition of the Epistle to the Romans to a complete doctrinal treatise, eighty editions having appeared in the lifetime of the author). Reformed theology, in the same century, is best represented by Zwingli's *Commentarius de vera et falsa religione*, and by Calvin's great work, his *Institutio religionis christianæ*, the Genevan parallel to Melanchthon's *Loci* in the variety of its forms, in the frequency of its revisions, and in the number of its editions, to which two epoch-making works may be added, although they belong to an inferior order, Bullinger's *Compendium religionis christianæ* (1556), Peter Martyr's *Loci Communes Theologiæ* (1575), Theodore Beza's *Quæstionum et responsionum christianarum libellus* (1580), and Zanchi's *De religione christiana fides* (1585). Romish theology is seen in Eck's *Enchiridion locorum communium*, 1525, etc., and especially in Cardinal Bellarmin's *Christianæ Doctrinæ explicatio*, approved by the Pope in 1598. The classes of data from which Romanism drew were nature, Scripture, and tradition, tradition (or the data of ecclesiastical dogmatics) being the supreme authority. The Lutheran and Reformed theologians were at one in elevating the Bible into the supreme test of religious truth. By no party was ethnic theology longer studied. From the fall of the Roman Empire, in fact, such ethnic arguments and illustrations as are met with in the early Christian Fathers very rarely appear.

The same three types are naturally seen and emphasized in THE NEW SCHOLASTIC AGE, THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, Rome being represented most ably by Suarez, *Commentaria ac disputationes in S. Thomas*, and by the great Jansenist Pascal in his *Pensées;* the Reformed Church by the Calvinists Alsted in his *Theologia didactica* (1618), Turrettin in his

Institutio Theologiæ elencticæ, and Witsius in his *Œconomia Fœderum Dei cum hominibus*, 1677, etc., and by the Arminians Simon Episcopius, *Institutiones theologicæ* (1643), and Philip van Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, 1686, 6th edit. 1715; and the Lutheran Church by Gerhard, *Loci Theologici*, in 9 vols. (1610–1625), George Calixt, *Epitome Theologiæ* (1619), Abraham Calov, *Systema locorum theologicorum*, in 12 vols. (1655–1677), and Quenstedt, *Theologia didactico-polemica seu systema theologiæ* (1685). According to the spirit of the time, each of the three types became during this century more pronounced in its theological position, having each, however, this one feature in common, that each recognised certain creeds as embodying doctrines, which not only define the standpoint of their adherents, but express for all time objective religious truth. During this century two other anti-Calvinistic movements besides Arminianism commenced, viz. Socinianism, best seen in the *Catechismus Racoviensis* (1605), and Quakerism, seen in Robert Barclay's *Theologiæ veræ Apologia* (1676). However, during this age there is a tendency everywhere to erect a creed (or, to adopt the technicality of this book, to erect some of the data afforded by ecclesiastical theology) into the position of supreme arbiter of religious truth.

From the time of the seventeenth century the history of comparative theology is most advantageously followed by observing a national classification. The course of theological development comparatively considered may be therefore briefly presented by naming and characterizing the principal doctrinal schools in Germany, England, and America. Roman Catholic countries generally have of course retained their confessional peculiarities, even emphasizing these in the decrees of the Vatican Council. Good instances of the best comparative works of Roman theologians will be seen in Kuhn, *Katholische Dogmatik*, four volumes of which have been published, 1859–1868, and in Dieringer, *Lehrbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*, 5th edit., Mayence 1865.

From the time of the great Lutheran theologians of the seventeenth century a most interesting and instructive course of development is manifest in the doctrinal studies of Pro-

TESTANT GERMANY. From the iron limits of the Tridentine decrees the Romanist has no appeal, and hence, numerous as have been the German exponents of Romanism in systematic form, they all proceed from a fundamentally identical standpoint; their task is exposition rather than establishment; at least their task is exposition as far as the prominent doctrines of Rome are concerned. A somewhat similar position has also been necessarily taken by the orthodox Lutheran divines. Their recognition of the *Liber Concordiæ*, the great Lutheran standard, has also made their doctrinal task very largely a matter of exposition rather than establishment. However, the acceptance by the Lutheran clergy of the *Concordienbuch* has never been so inflexible as that of the decrees of Trent has been for Romanists, some liberality of interpretation having always been allowed. The doctrinal studies of Germany have therefore usually shown, on the one hand, a pronounced Lutheran type, and at the same time a milder type of Lutheran doctrine into which successive enlargements and adjustments have been introduced under the stress of various religious movements, often in themselves heretical. Lutheranism has never been above learning new truth even from those who preached that truth with much error, and Lutheran theology is richer to-day from the large-mindedness with which the necessity for interpreting its ancient creed in the light of modern discovery has been recognised. *Various have been the movements which have tended to fertilize the doctrinal systems emanating from Lutheran divines.* Before the seventeenth century closed, and ere the dogmatizing influence of that century had caused too severe a stress to be laid upon right doctrine as contrasted with right life, a great counteractive movement arose in the PIETISM, as it is called, of Spener and his school. The Pietists desired that the Church should be a body of saints. They emphasized the need for holiness. They preferred subjective faith to objective doctrine. Piety rather than orthodoxy was their ideal. Their contention was as one-sided as the error they opposed; nevertheless their influence was singularly beneficial. They enabled Lutheranism to aim more directly at both truth and piety. Good instances of the systematic products of the time are found in Hollaz, *Examen theologicum acroamaticum*,

1707, Breithaupt, *Institutiones Theologicæ*, 1695, and Buddeus, *Institutiones theologicæ dogmaticæ*, 1723. But Pietism always lays too great an emotional strain upon human nature to be otherwise than transient, and hence it is with little surprise that we see, as the eighteenth century proceeds, a strong recurrence to the ecclesiastical standpoint. Bare acceptance and exposition of the standards again becomes the rule. Divines had not to reason their systems, but unfold them from certain unquestioned postulates. Ecclesiastical theology becomes once more dominant over Biblical theology. Then another antagonistic movement revivifies theological science. This time the antagonism comes from natural theology. The supernaturalists have to fight for very life with *a most pronounced* RATIONALISM. From the united influence of the great native philosophical movements of the time as well as of the imported deism of England, a rationalistic theology, affecting every branch of theological science, and every doctrine of religious belief, raised its head and contended for the mastery with the more conservative Lutherans. The struggle was long and bitter. It could not but be protracted and envenomed, for looking back to those times to-day, it is very manifest that truth was on both sides. The orthodox party justly insisted upon the supernatural source of much of religious knowledge, but unwisely failed to see that the natural reason is also a source of some religious knowledge; on the other hand, the rationalist party as justly insisted upon the natural source of much of religious knowledge, but as unwisely failed to see that there are other sources of religious knowledge than reason. Good representatives of the orthodox Lutherans are seen in Döderlein, *Institutiones theologi christiani*, 1780 (6th edit. 1797), and in Morus, *Epistolæ theologi christiani*, 1789 (5th edit. 1821), and of the rationalistic Lutherans in Semler, *Institutio ad doctrinam christianam liberaliter discendam*, 1774, and in Bahrdt, *System der moralischen Religion*, 1787. So the struggle went on between the advocates of the light of nature rationally regarded and the light of Scripture ecclesiastically regarded. *The Age of Transition*, as the Germans are accustomed to call this time, *merges into the Age of Regeneration with* SCHLEIER-

MACHER (1768–1831). Certainly Schleiermacher gave a great impetus to all theological study. Recognising clearly that the one good thing in rationalism was its desire for personal conviction, for mental appropriation of truth instead of blind subjection to external authority, and at the same time recognising as clearly the truth of the leading contention of the orthodox party, that man could only rise to a higher life by means of a divine revelation, Schleiermacher presented all theological truth as a *Glaubenslehre*, or doctrine of faith; faith being at once just that internal conviction which the rationalist desires, and that appropriation of a divine revelation for which the supernaturalist contends. Undoubtedly Schleiermacher had here a fruitful principle, but a dangerous one as well. The subjective feeling of the Christian, the Christian consciousness, has a cogent argumentative force; but if this Christian consciousness be regarded as the supreme source of theological truth, the door is opened wide for many an erroneous presentation of supernatural knowledge. The personal convictions of the Christian are scarcely an adequate ground for the being and attributes of God, the person and work of Christ, and the course of the future; or, still more disastrously may it be said for such a system, these personal convictions can scarcely be regarded as valid beyond the consciousness of the person concerned. Seeing that the Christian consciousness varies, where lies the guarantee of catholic truth? Nevertheless the *Christliche Glaube* of Schleiermacher was an epoch-making book, in spite of the manifest one-sidedness of its motto, adopted from Anselm, "Neque enim quæro intelligere ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam." Naturally enough, moreover, the struggle of standpoints still continues in Germany. *The leading comparative works of the last fifty years may be readily classed under the three heads, the followers of Schleiermacher, the followers of Hegel, Kant, and other philosophical leaders* (who are virtually rationalistic), *and the adherents of the old Lutheran standpoint* (the confessional theologians). One school is necessarily more or less influenced by the other, but the several schools are more or less distinct. The PRINCIPAL NAMES IN THE SCHOOL OF SCHLEIERMACHER are Ullmann,

known by his beautiful little work on the "Sinlessness of Jesus;" C. I. Nitzsch, *System der christlichen Lehre*, 6th edit. 1851 (translated); Julius Müller, *Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, 6th edit. 1878 (translated); Rothe, *Theologische Ethik*, 2nd edit. 1869, and *Zur Dogmatik*, 1863; Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics;* Isaac A. Dorner, *System der christlichen Glaubenslehre*, 1879–81 (translated); J. P. Lange, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 1849–1852; Van Oosterzee, *Christian Dogmatics*, 1881, all of whom have assimilated the best in Schleiermacher, whilst refusing to follow him slavishly: of a more thoroughgoing subjective tendency is Schweizer, *Die Christliche Glaubenslehre*, 2nd edit. 1877: and of a more rationalistic tendency are Karl Hase, *Lehrbuch der evangelischen Dogmatik*, 6th edit. 1870; Otto Pfleiderer, *Religionsphilosophie* (see § 26, 16); and Lipsius, *Lehrbuch der evangelisch-protestantischen Dogmatik*, 2nd edit. 1879. The PRINCIPAL RATIONALISTIC THEOLOGIANS are Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, 2nd edit. 1882; Marheineke, *Die Grundlehren der christliche Dogmatik als Wissenschaft*, 2nd edit. 1827; Daub, *Die dogmatische Theologie jetziger Zeit*, 1833; Strauss, *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, 11th edit. 1881 (translated); and Feuerbach, *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, 1841 (translated). To the LUTHERAN CONFESSIONAL SCHOOL belong Thomasius, *Christi Person und Werk*, 2nd edit. 1856; Luthardt, *Kompendium der Dogmatik*, 5th edit. 1878; Kahnis, *Die lutherische Dogmatik historisch-genetisch dargestellt*, 2nd edit. 1874; Frank, *System der christlichen Gewissheit*, 2nd edit. 1881, and *System der christlichen Wahrheit*, 1878–1881; H. Schmid, *Die Dogmatik der evangelische-lutheran. Kirche*, 6th edit. 1870; and Philippi, *Kirchliche Glaubenslehre*, 2nd edit. 1864–1882. The weakness of the best modern German comparative theology is its ignoring of the data of natural and ethnic theology, and its consequent one-sidedness.

No such magnificent evolution is to be seen in the doctrinal investigation of ENGLAND, although some great names are to be found amongst the systematic divines of the United Kingdom, and although an evolution is clearly visible of a sufficiently instructive kind. The English Reformation had left behind two very distinct tendencies in English doctrine as

well as in English life, the Anglican and the Calvinistic. Neither tendency was prolific in the production of systematic treatises, being more fruitful in ecclesiastical than intellectual results; each tendency, however, did become crystallized into some prominent doctrinal works. Anglicanism, a sort of *via media* between Romanism and Protestantism, with a tendency to elevate the tradition of the early Church above Scripture, is best seen in Hooker's famous *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1594–1648, containing much of a doctrinal nature; whereas Calvinism is best seen in the works of Hooper, the first Puritan as he is often called, who died a martyr in 1554, and of Thomas Cartwright, who died in 1602. During the seventeenth century these two antagonistic systems each benefited by the general systematizing character of the time, and developed strongly, Calvinism being in the ascendant politically during the days of the Commonwealth, culminating in the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, and Anglicanism attaining to headship at the Revolution. Anglican scholarship is well seen in Thorndike, *Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England* (1659), a work dealing with "the principles of Christian truth," "the covenant of grace," and "the laws of the Church;" and in Heylyn, *Theologia Veterum*. Amongst Anglicans of a less pronounced type may be mentioned with honour, Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, 1659; Ussher, *A Body of Divinity, or the Sum and Substance of the Christian Religion*, 1658; and Burnet, *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, 1699. Of the Calvinists in the Established Church the more prominent were Archbishop Leighton, who wrote an exposition of the Creed, and John Edwards, who wrote his *Theologia Reformata, or the Body and Substance of the Christian Religion*, 1713–1726. It was among the Nonconformist bodies, however, that the more distinctive Calvinistic teaching was to be found, as in the writings of Charnock, Flavel, and Bunyan, of Thomas Goodwin and John Owen; notice especially Thomas Watson's *Body of Practical Divinity*, 1692. A less extreme Calvinism was to be seen in the various works of Richard Baxter and of John Howe. Few works of a systematic kind are to be found in the eighteenth century. The great works of the Anglican

and the Calvinist divines had then but puny imitators. The great rationalistic movement, the revival of natural theology, which has been sketched in our history of natural theology (§ 17), palsied comparative study for a time, and very occasional writings testify that the love for doctrinal investigation was still alive in places. The " Lectures " of Philip Doddridge, the Nonconformist theological tutor, and those of John Hay, the Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, bear witness to the non-extinction of the systematic spirit. Nevertheless the century is destitute of really great works, and even the splendid evangelical movement at its close failed to inspire any investigations into comparative theology, to be called either great or enthusiastic. Nor has the nineteenth century given birth as yet to any great doctrinal system. Expositions of confessions there have been, and many controversies on single doctrinal points, but the century has not yet found expression for its doctrinal beliefs in any great systematic works. Some few writers, notwithstanding, deserve respectful mention, such as Principal Hill, of St. Andrews, for his *Lectures in Divinity*, 1821 ; Principal Payne, of Western College, for his *Lectures on Christian Theology*, 2 vols. 1850 ; Principal Wardlaw, of Glasgow, for his *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. 1856, 1857 ; Principal Pye Smith, of Homerton College, for his *First Lines of Christian Theology*, 2nd edit. 1860 ; and Principal Dewar, of Aberdeen, for his *Elements of Systematic Divinity*, 3 vols., 1867,—all of which skilfully expound Calvinistic doctrine ; Dr. William Burt Pope, of Didsbury College, for his excellent *Compendium of Christian Theology*, 1879, which as sympathetically expounds Arminian doctrine ; and Canon Norris, of Bristol, for a brief but pellucid little book entitled *Rudiments of Theology*, 1876. But the century has not yet crystallized its religious thought into system. That there is a fresh movement in the realms of theology none can doubt who is abreast of the currents of the time. Two causes of this tendency are conspicuous. This century has been the century of natural science and of travel. Verification and the brotherhood of man are the watchwords of the day. Great discoveries in the natural world have affected some old interpretations

of Scripture on the one hand, thus introducing an element of uncertainty into popular religious conceptions; and on the other hand, another disintegrating element has appeared in the largely increased knowledge travellers have given of the non-Christian religious systems. Thus from two sides, from natural and from ethnic theology, new light has been thrown upon the nature and history of man. Now the weak points of those great Protestant theologies, which, as we have seen, served for more than two centuries as the highest expressions of the thoughts of religious men upon themselves and their relations to their divine author, were just their views upon man, especially their views upon the world of heathendom. The inevitable result has been that the investigations recently made in natural science and comparative religion have thrown some discredit upon the older theologies. Hitherto, in short, in this century—to adopt the terminology of this book—new data have arisen in the realms of natural and ethnic theology; these new data have suggested new inferences; and these new inferences have necessitated changes and adjustments in comparative theology. At the same time reconstruction has also been to a considerable extent demanded by the discoveries made during the century in Biblical and historical theology, branches which are almost the children of the century. The seed has been sown; the flax has been gathered and spun; it now remains to weave the yarn into fabric useful and strong.

But before drawing up the prominent lessons of the history we have been considering, a few words should be given to the course of inquiry in America, where again a specific development of considerable interest has been going on for many years. At first the theology of America was the strictest Calvinism, and many representatives of this school remain to-day. The more prominent representatives of this older and more pronounced Calvinistic standpoint are President Dwight, *Theology Explained and Defended in a Series of Sermons*, 5 vols. 1819, of which various editions have been published; Professor Breckinridge, *The Knowledge of God Objectively and Subjectively Considered*, 2 vols. 1858; Professor Finney, *Lectures on Systematic Theology*, 2 vols. 1851;

Professor Chas. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols. 1872 (the finest work of its class); Professor Dabney, *Syllabus and Notes of the Course of Systematic and Polemic Theology taught in Union Theological Seminary, Virginia*, 2nd edit. 1878; and Professor H. B. Smith, *System of Christian Theology*, 2nd edit. 1884. But strong and independent minds appearing, who found this severity of system inconsistent, unsatisfactory, and paralyzing, they commenced a series of modifications in the traditional system of doctrine designed to render it more rational, more palatable to the believer, and more easily defensible against the assailant. This modifying process has been going forward with a good degree of steadiness ever since the days of President Edwards (1703–1758), who unintentionally advanced principles which logically necessitated change of view. Those who desire to see the phases of this very interesting movement by which a moderate Calvinism has been skilfully and cogently developed would do well to refer to an excellent article on "New England Theology" in the tenth volume of M'Culloch and Strong's *Cyclopædia*. At the present time this modification of the older Calvinism has a very general prevalence in the Congregational Churches of the New England and Western States, and is favoured by many in other Calvinistic bodies. At the beginning of the century this school also influenced many in England. The principal systematic work which has emanated from this school is Samuel Hopkins' *System of Theology*, 2 vols. 1793, 1811. To-day representatives of the extremer and more moderate Calvinism are to be found side by side, whilst there is some evidence that a new effort in doctrinal construction is desired by many in America as well as at home. In this direction point such books as Munger's *Freedom of Faith*, and Newman Smyth's *Old Faiths in New Lights*.

Upon only one of the aspects of the history of systematic doctrinal study have we been able to touch, viz. upon the battle of the standpoints. To the student this is the more important aspect of any historical survey. Of course there are few books indeed from which something cannot be learnt, and there are few systems of doctrine which do not contain much truth. Upon the long elaboration of individual doctrines

nothing has been said, although many systematic works have been written upon individual doctrines. What has been done in the preceding pages has been to gather up the prominent characteristics of the leading epochs of the past with a view to pointing the way to the task of the future. This century needs to reformulate its faith as past ages have needed to reformulate their faiths. Only when new facts cease to be discovered will new systematizations become unnecessary. At the present time vast accumulations of new facts call for comparative study and systematic arrangement. New times call for new systems. Not that new systems are wholly new; a truer mode of expression would be a new development of the systems of the past. Two tasks of a comparative nature therefore lie before the age: first, to determine the sources of religious knowledge available, together with their relative value; and secondly, to build up the facts afforded by these sources in all due relation and true proportion.

§ 79.

DIVISION AND BRIEF OUTLINE OF COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.

RETURNING, after our historical survey, which has not been without its lessons, to the exposition of that highly important branch of religious science, comparative theology, we have now to ask what are its main sections. Comparative theology being the science which constructs a system of religious truth from the comparison of the religious truths given in nature, the extra-Christian religions, the Bible, and the history of the Christian Church, is this science simple, or is clearness served by subdividing the science further?

Various divisions have been adopted, for scientific precision and didactic convenience, in systematic or, as we prefer to say, comparative theology. Some have divided the science into *dogmatic* and *apologetic* theology; and some have divided the science into *dogmatic, apologetic, polemic,* and *eirenic* theology. We pass by other divisions, and direct attention to these two, in order to smooth the way for our own classification. Now, strictly speaking, apologetics, using the term in the narrower sense, adopted in the second of the above divisions, defends religious doctrine against assault; polemics employs religious doctrine as a means of attack; and eirenics utilizes religious doctrine as a harmonizer of varying schemes of thought. Apologetics presents truth on the defensive; polemics presents truth on the offensive; and eirenics presents truth as a peace-maker. But, after all, does the mode of the utilization of truth suffice to divide truth into classes, or do we not rather base our classifications upon the varieties of truth? The same truth variously applied is still the same truth, and belongs to but one class. Many therefore have adopted the former of the two divisions, and have divided systematic theology into dogmatics and apologetics, meaning by the

former the scientific *examination* of religious doctrine, and by the latter the scientific *substantiation* of religious doctrine. This is certainly to use the word apologetics in a somewhat enlarged sense as compared with the usage previously mentioned. Nevertheless there is much to be said for this *twofold* division. The scientific presentation of religious truth is one thing, and the scientific verification of Christian truth is another. The usual division of systematic theology into dogmatic and apologetic theology appears highly reasonable.

The transition to the division advocated here is easy. Allowance being made for the somewhat enlarged view of systematic or comparative theology here expounded, the division preferred is substantially identical, in content if not in name, with the twofold division into dogmatics and apologetics. There are necessarily two great problems in comparative theology, or the science which compares the results of the theological sciences previously examined. On the one hand, laws of comparison have to be deduced. The religious truths supplied by nature and by heathenism, by the Bible and by the history of the Church, are by no means of equal value. Nature does not supply so clear a revelation of the religious relations of man as does the Bible, nor are the experiences of heathenism as important as the experiences of Christendom. The sources of religious truth are neither equally clear nor equally refreshing. Some springs of supernatural knowledge yield a limited, and some an inexhaustible supply. The teaching of Socrates, precious though it be, cannot rival that of Augustine, whilst Augustine would most humbly retract any word of his which manifestly came into conflict with the declarations of Jesus. It is the prerogative of the words of Christ alone to slake the spiritual thirst for ever. The measure of this relativity of truths from various sources it is indispensable to take. No sure step can be taken in comparative theology until this question of the variable value of religious truths of different lands has been carefully investigated. It is essential for comparative theology to formulate its principles of comparison. In other words, *the first task of comparative theology is to estimate its criteria of truth.* What classes of truths are higher and what

lower, what are supreme sources and what sources are inferior, in what order the rational man shall respect the deliverances of the several sources of religious truth open to him,—these are questions which must be solved at the very outset of comparative religious investigations. What is the criterion of religious truth, whether reason, or sentiment, or Scripture, or tradition, and what is the relative value of the several criteria, whether nature, or heathenism, or the Bible, or the Christian consciousness of the individual, or the convictions of the collective Church,—these are questions which demand attention before any advance can be made to the solution of the problem of comparative theology. This our historical survey has made evident. One branch of comparative theology, to which the name may be given of FUNDAMENTAL THEOLOGY with some appropriateness, deals then with the question as to the relative value of the several sources of religious knowledge. A structure of religious truth cannot be founded wisely without a sure foundation, and fundamental theology deals with the necessary foundation. The problem of fundamental theology is to inquire what sources of religious truth are reliable, and what is the relative value of these sources.

The foundation laid in fundamental theology,—and theological controversy almost invariably runs up to diversity of view upon the ultimate sources of religious truth,—*the second task of comparative theology is to formulate and subordinate the several doctrines afforded by the several sources.* Nature has its teaching concerning the being and attributes of God; similar knowledge concerning the Deity is given by the ethnic religions, which demonstrate at least both the strength and the weakness of the religious intuitions of man, together with the laws of their amelioration or decadence; the Bible has additional knowledge to impart concerning the Divine Being and His purposes concerning man; whilst the Christian consciousness of both the individual and the Church at large testifies somewhat to the nature and plans of the infinite Father; from all these various sources it is the task of comparative theology, having settled the validity and the relative value of these sources, to construct a doctrine of God. This one illustration

may suffice. From what we have seen in the earlier pages of this book, inductions concerning God and man and spirits and sin and Christ and salvation and the Church and the last things, are afforded by the several sources of doctrinal knowledge, and it is the second problem of comparative theology, by the scientific comparison and concatenation of these inductions, to erect a system of religious truth. To this second branch of comparative theology the name may be given of constructive, dogmatic, or doctrinal theology, with a preference for the last, as more readily intelligible.

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY *consists then of two branches*, viz.— FUNDAMENTAL THEOLOGY, *which investigates the validity and the relative value of the sources of religious truth, and* DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY, *which investigates the inductions supplied by the several sources of religious truth, and forms those inductions into a system of religious truth duly discovered, verified, and affiliated.*

SUBDIVISION I.: FUNDAMENTAL THEOLOGY, §§ 80–83.

§ 80.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF FUNDAMENTAL THEOLOGY.

FUNDAMENTAL Theology, then, which we first consider, is that branch of comparative theology which deals with the validity and relative value of the several sources of religious knowledge,—nature, heathenism, the Bible, and the history of the Christian Church. The name is neither new nor inappropriate. For some time now some leading German writers have preferred the name fundamental to apologetic theology, as more accurately expressing to the modern mind the function of this branch of theological science, and the word is too good not to be naturalized in English. Besides, there is a peculiar appropriateness in our use of the word, which differs somewhat from the Continental usage. From the distinct recognition of different sources of religious knowledge of varying values, the need directly follows of estimating these values, such an estimation being the indispensable groundwork of further argument. In other words, comparative theology is a structure built of more materials than one, and it is of the supremest importance that the relative strength of these materials be understood; for however utilized they be in our foundation, they must be so intermixed as to bear the greatest strain. What is here called fundamental theology is thus what has been long known as the scientific consideration of the *regula fidei*, or rule of faith.

It is true that the problem, as well as the name and definition of fundamental theology, have been to some extent considered in the preceding section; but seeing the importance of clear views upon this branch of comparative theology,

some few words may be advisably added. The necessity for a science of fundamental theology follows from the fact that all the great differences of theological belief ultimately resolve themselves into a lack of common ground from which to start. The point is worth illustrating. The chequered course of the history of religious doctrine shows with clearness that, whilst variations of views have been numerous even when there has been unanimity upon first principles, there has also been a wide divergence upon first principles themselves. Church has been divided from Church upon the very nature of what constitutes credible truth, as well as upon the details of the Christian system. The diverse criteria of the doctrines to be believed have perplexed the thoughtful as well as the diverse details of the Christian creed. Now, assuming that adequate data exist for coming to an irrefragable opinion both upon the rule and the doctrines of religious belief, and assuming that these data do not differ from all other scientific data in their capability of being reduced to a true and natural order, the great aim of comparative theology being to find unity in diversity, agreement in difference, truth in opinion, solid ground in shifting beliefs, comparative theology must manifestly first criticise, classify, compare, and argue from all data bearing upon the credibility of its sources, and secondly, criticise, classify, compare, and argue from all data bearing upon the testimonies of these sources. The task is doubtless a long, perhaps with our present faculties a ceaseless one. But in this respect comparative theology is simply like every other branch of science, the prosecutors of which dare not count themselves to have apprehended, but rather desire to advance by steady persistence in well-doing along one continuous course of progress, "unresting, unhasting."

Track the great divisions of Christian thinkers to their first cause, and how frequently do they resolve themselves into lack of agreement upon the validity and relative value of the several sources of religious truth! What possible end is there to the diversities of view between Rationalists, Romanists, Protestants, Mystics, Deists, Agnostics, and the adherents of the various ethnic faiths, until the question has been thrashed

out as to the validity and relative value as criteria of religious truth of the conclusions of the natural reason, the deliverances of councils, the revelations of Scripture, the intuitions of the inner light, the decisions of our present faculties, or the oral or written assertions of heathen religious leaders? How idle, for example, is it to endeavour to settle whether the Calvinistic or Papist view of the Lord's Supper be the more correct, until it has been first decided whether the decrees of bishops in council assembled are of equal weight with the records of apostles! Fundamental theology, recognising that different rules of faith have been maintained, that varying views have been held concerning the validity and relative value of the sources of religious truth, sets itself carefully and fully to examine these first principles of all doctrinal conclusions.

What sources are there of religious truth, and what relations of superiority or inferiority these sources sustain to each other, —these are the problems which fundamental theology undertakes to solve. The task is as important as it is difficult.

§ 81.

DIVISION OF FUNDAMENTAL THEOLOGY.

FUNDAMENTAL Theology dealing with the validity and the relative value of the sources of religious truth, the division of this branch of comparative theology follows from our previous examination of those sources. Fundamental theology is divided into four parts, viz. :—

1. The validity and relative value of the inductions of natural theology.
2. The validity and relative value of the inductions of ethnic theology.
3. The validity and relative value of the inductions of Biblical theology.
4. The validity and relative value of the inductions of ecclesiastical theology.

§ 82.

OUTLINE OF FUNDAMENTAL THEOLOGY.

VARIOUS forms of authority have been propounded as masters before whom man must do obeisance, such as infallible reason, an infallible Church, and an infallible book. Now, before one form of authority it is manifest man must bow; he cannot but acknowledge the authority of truth. Let truth be found, and liberty to believe or disbelieve no longer exists. Private judgment is either folly or madness when truth is presented to us. Truth is but another name for fact. Fact is authoritative, or tyrannous, as some prefer to say; and truth, which is but fact mirrored in the mind without distortion, is equally tyrannous or authoritative. The great questions therefore for fundamental theology, seeing that there are various sources from which it draws its data, are,—first, to what extent do the several sources concerned afford truth? and secondly, what are the limits of the several sources? in other words, what are their regulative values, which is supreme and which is inferior?

Immediately the latter question is asked, an interesting relation discloses itself amongst the several sources of religious knowledge. Those sources are natural theology, which presents the deliverances and nothing but the deliverances of the natural reason of man; ethnic theology, which presents again the deliverances and nothing but the deliverances of the natural reason of man; Biblical theology, which claims to present the deliverances of a long-continued revelation of God to man; and ecclesiastical theology, which claims to present, not wholly new truth, but truth deduced during many years from the Bible. Even the Romanist, who places ecclesiastical doctrines in the post of highest honour, yet maintains as strongly as the Protestant that the decisions of councils before

which he bows are but developments of the statements of Scripture. It is thus manifest that the great question as to supremacy does not lie between the doctrines of nature and the doctrines of the Church, nor between the doctrines of heathen faiths and the doctrines of the Church, but always lies between one fixed member of an antithesis and a variable member. Decision lies between *Scripture* and the Church as the supreme arbiter, or between *Scripture* and nature, or between *Scripture* and the truths of ethnic theology. The authority of Scripture is the one contested point. It is manifest, therefore, that the advisable course to be pursued is, to begin by investigating the authority of Scripture. That settled, it will not be difficult to adjudicate upon the relative value of the other sources of religious knowledge. The first question which lies before us is,—the stupendous question as to the authority of Scripture.

This primary question may be more exactly stated. Natural theology deals with the ordinary universe and the common course of events. Ethnic theology does not claim to deal with rarer facts than are presented by the ordinary experience of man. Biblical theology, on the contrary, proceeds on the basis of an infringement of the common order, and declares itself to be founded on the fact of an exceptional revelation from God to man. The source of natural knowledge of the supernatural is the common series of facts reflected in the human intellect; the source of ethnic knowledge of the supernatural is again the common series of facts reflected in the intellect; but the source of Biblical knowledge of the supernatural is asserted by the Bible itself to be an *extraordinary* series of facts reflected in the experience and mind of man. Here then our question emerges again. The paramount question is, *whether the Bible is the record of a series of divine revelations,* meaning by revelation a communication to man of what he could not have known from the ordinary channels of human knowledge.

The reply can only be given after a long and cumulative argument from the facts presented by the Bible.

Only the line of inquiry can be indicated here.

At the outset the credibility of the Bible when narrating

ordinary history must be investigated. Here an interesting series of facts from ancient and modern sources aid us to a conclusive settlement of the *bona fides* of Scripture. Being then veracious in its presentation of ordinary facts, a presumption is established that its veracity is no less marked when it is dealing with uncommon occurrences. Proceeding then to these uncommon occurrences, the miracles of the Bible, and their necessarily supernatural origin, call for examination. Thence it is necessary to pass from miracles in general to such individual miracles as prophecy, with its exceptional phenomena; as Biblical doctrine, at once reiterating and transcending natural doctrine; as the life, teaching, and resurrection of Jesus, the crown of miracles; as the origin, tenets, and success of the early Church, so manifestly divine. All forms of evidence, objective and subjective, may be summoned to the decision of this question of the revealed character of Scripture, but the decision once reached, fundamental theology has made its greatest stride towards its goal. The question it has primarily to consider is, be it remembered, not whether the Bible is inspired; the mode by which the veracity of Scripture is ensured is a secondary question. The great question is, whether the Bible is revealed, whether its pages record, and record truthfully, a series of divine revelations made from the days of Adam to those of the Apostle John. If the Bible does veraciously narrate the course and contents of a series of revelations, of a series of divine communications to which it was impossible for the unaided human faculties to attain, the Bible must be the supreme source of truth. At least no other source can transcend the Bible, unless its contents can be reasonably shown to transcend the revelation of Scripture.

The revealed character of Scripture once demonstrated, the task of fundamental theology is considerably simplified.

That the natural reason which supplies the data for natural theology is veracious, it will not be difficult to show, for if it be not veracious, the attainment of truth of any kind is impossible; again, that the natural reason is *natural*, places it in an inferior position as regards the Bible. A similar remark applies to ethnic theology.

The only remaining question is the great question between Romanism and Protestantism, *i.e.* whether the collective Christian consciousness can be regarded as affording a series of higher revelations than the series of revelations contained in Scripture. The question is a question of fact. Let comparison do its work. Critical comparison of the deliverances of the Bible and the deliverances of the collective Christian consciousness will soon show that the views of Christians, however numerous, are not equivalent to the supreme Biblical revelation, the views of Christ. Should the individual Christian consciousness be a candidate for the honour of being the supreme arbiter of truth, comparison will again speedily enable us to declare that the individual consciousness owes more to the Bible than the Bible owes to the individual consciousness, and that the teacher in this case has not been outgrown by the pupil.

§ 83.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON FUNDAMENTAL THEOLOGY.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

NOTE.—In the absence of a good modern book which treats of the whole range of this important subject, the student is recommended to select a few books from the following list, *e.g.* those by Harris, Christlieb, Rogers, and Bruce.

II. *For more Advanced Study.*

(1.) *Of Apologetics (so-called) generally.*

NOTE.—On Paley, Butler, the Boyle Lectures, and the Bridgewater Treatises, see § 17.

ADDISON, JOSEPH, *Evidences of the Christian Religion, to which are added, Discourses against Atheism and Infidelity, with a preface, containing the sentiments of Mr. Boyle, Mr. Locke, and Sir Isaac Newton concerning the Gospel Revelation*, 1820.

CHATEAUBRIAND, F. R. DE, *Génie du Christianisme et Défense du Génie du Christianisme*, many editions, the best, Paris 1828. [Romanist, but very suggestive as well as eloquent.]

WISEMAN, CARDINAL, *Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*, 1st edit. 12mo, 1847; several editions since. [Worth reading even to-day, although much of its science is now antiquated.]

ROGERS, HENRY, *The Eclipse of Faith, or a Visit to a Religious Sceptic*, many editions, 1st 1852, Longmans. [A romance with much pungent apologetical matter interpolated.]

CHALMERS, THOS., *Institutes of Theology*, Edinburgh 1856.

[The first vol. deals eloquently with the Christian evidences.]

M'Ilvaine, C. P., *The Evidences of Christianity of Natural and Revealed Religion*, Cleveland (Ohio) 1872, 12mo. [Excellent; has been translated into German.]

Ullmann, K., *Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu, eine apologetische Betrachtung*, 7th edit., Hamburg 1863; translated under the title, *The Sinlessness of Jesus*, T. & T. Clark, 1858. [Confronts disbelievers in the supernatural with the sinlessness of Jesus.]

Guizot, F. P. G., *Méditations sur l'essence de la religion chrétienne*, 1864; followed by *Méditations sur l'état actuel de la religion chrétienne*. [Suggestive.]

Fisher, G. P., *Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity, with special reference to the Theories of Renan, Strauss, and the Tübingen School*, New York 1866. [Able.]

Bushnell, Horace, *Nature and the Supernatural, as together constituting one System of God*, new edit., New York 1867; Dickinson, 12mo, 1880. [Inquires most suggestively why Christianity cannot vanish as did the heathen faiths of Greece and Rome.]

Delitzsch, Franz, *System der christlichen Apologetik*, Leipsic 1869. [Arranges all apologetics under, first, the correspondence between Christianity and the needs of man; and second, the historical reality and correspondence of Christianity and the Bible.]

Row, C. A., *Christian Evidences viewed in relation to Modern Thought, Bampton Lectures for* 1877, 3rd edit. 1881, Frederic Norgate. [Excellent lectures on the miraculous, and on the evidential value of the life and character of Christ.]

Luthardt, C. E., *Apologetische Vorträge über die Grundwahrheiten des Christenthums*, 10th edit., Leipsic 1883; *über die Heilswahrheiten des Christenthums*, 5th edit. 1883; *über die Moral des Christenthums*, 3rd edit. 1881; *über die modernen Weltanschauungen*, 1880. The first three have been translated under the titles, *Apologetic Lectures—on the Fundamental Truths of Chris-*

tianity, 6th edit.; *on the Saving Truths of Christianity*, 4th edit.; *on the Moral Truths of Christianity*, 3rd edit., T. & T. Clark. [Clear, scholarly, forcible, evangelical, readable.]

CHRISTLIEB, TH., *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief, a Series of Apologetic Lectures addressed to Earnest Seekers after Truth*, 1st edit. 1874, 5th edit. 1885. [Able lectures on the Breach between Culture and Christianity, on Reason and Revelation, on Modern non-Biblical Conceptions of God, on the Theology of Scripture and the Church, on Miracles, on the various Attacks upon the Person of Christ and His Resurrection.]

WRIGHT, G. F., *The Logic of Christian Evidences*, 12mo, Dickinson, 1881. [Original and striking.]

REDFORD, R. A., *The Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief, a Handbook of Christian Evidence*, Hodder, 1881. [Part i. reviews the history of unbelief; Part ii. treats of theism; Part iii. of revelation.]

COOK, JOSEPH, *Boston Monday Lectures, with Preludes on Current Events*, various editions; a good edition is issued by Dickinson in 3 vols. [Trenchant, evangelical, and popular lectures; largely apologetical.]

GODET, F., *Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith, translated by W. H. Lyttelton*, 1st edit. 1881, 2nd edit., T. & T. Clark. [Suggestive lectures on the Resurrection, the Hypothesis of Visions, the Miracles, Perfectness, and Divinity of Jesus Christ, the Supernatural, and the Immutability of the Apostolic Gospel.]

GRIFFITH, HENRY, *Faith, the Life-root of Science, Philosophy, Ethics, and Religion*, Elliot Stock, 12mo, 1882. [Brilliant and original.]

STORRS, R. S., *The Divine Origin of Christianity indicated by its Historical Effects*, Hodder, 1885. [Shows eloquently the new conceptions of God, man, duty, and politics introduced by Christianity, and the influence of Christianity on the mental, moral, and social life of mankind.]

(2.) *Of the Validity and Relative Value of the Truths of Natural Theology.*

NOTE.—Compare the works named in § 20 (2.).

CALDERWOOD, HENRY, *The Relations of Science and Religion, The Morse Lecture* 1880, *connected with the Union Theological Seminary, New York,* Macmillan, 1881, 12mo. [Aims at indicating the measure of harmony traceable between recent advances in sciences and the fundamental characteristics of religious thought.]

HARRIS, SAMUEL, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism,* see § 20 (4.).

(3.) *Of the Validity and Relative Value of the Contents of the Bible generally.*

HENDERSON, E., *Divine Inspiration, or the Supernatural Influence exerted in the Communication of Divine Truth, and its special bearing on the Composition of the Sacred Scriptures,* 2nd edit. 12mo, 1847. [Contains utterances on the inspiration of Scripture still deserving of attention.]

LEE, WM., *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof,* 1st edit. 1854, 5th edit. 1882. [Contends, with much illustration and learning, for an inexpressible union of divine and human in Scripture parallel to the union of the divine and human in the person of Christ.]

MACNAUGHT, J., *The Doctrine of Inspiration, being an Inquiry concerning the Infallibility, Inspiration, and Authority of Holy Writ,* Longmans, 1856, 12mo.

AUBERLEN, C. A., *Die göttliche Offenbarung, ein apologetische Versuch,* 2 vols., Basle 1861–1864, translated (badly) by A. B. Paton under the title, *The Divine Revelation, an Essay in Defence of the Faith,* T. & T. Clark, 1867. [A very suggestive study.]

GAUSSEN, S. R. L., *Theopneustia, The Bible, its Divine Origin and Entire Inspiration, deduced from internal Evidence and the Testimonies of Nature, History, and Science, translated by David Dundas Scott,* 12mo, Edinburgh 1861. [One of the strongest advocates of verbal inspiration.]

Birks, T. R., *The Bible and Modern Thought, new edition with an Appendix*, Religious Tract Society, 1862.

Warington, G., *The Inspiration of Scripture, its Limits and Effects*, 12mo, Skeffington, 1867. [Suggestive and thorough.]

Arnold, Matthew, *Literature and Dogma, an Essay towards a Better Apprehension of the Bible*, 1st edit. 1873, popular edition in 12mo, 1883; also *God and the Bible, a Sequel to Literature and Dogma*, popular edition, 1884, Smith, Elder, & Co. [Occupies a purely naturalistic standpoint.]

Rogers, Henry, *The Superhuman Origin of the Bible inferred from Itself, Congregational Lecture for* 1873, 6th edit. 12mo, 1884. [Most suggestive.]

Elliott, Chas., *A Treatise on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, T. & T. Clark, 1877. [Part i., Introductory Questions; Part ii., Proofs of the Inspiration of the Bible; Part iii., Definitions, Theories, Distinctions, Nature, and Extent of Inspiration.]

Atwell, W. E., *The Pauline Theory of the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, 12mo, Hodder, 1878. [A suggestive examination of the whole subject from the standpoint of a few Pauline verses.]

Given, J. J., *The Truth of Scripture in connection with Revelation, Inspiration, and the Canon*, T. & T. Clark, 1881.

Bruce, A. B., *The Chief End of Revelation*, Hodder, 1881, 12mo. [A good reply to Matthew Arnold.]

Rabaud, Ed., *Histoire de la Doctrine de l'Inspiration des Saintes Ecritures dans les pays de langue française de la Reforme à nos jours.* [A suggestive survey of the Protestant doctrine of inspiration.]

Robson, John, *The Bible, its Revelation, Inspiration, and Evidence*, Hodder, 1883, 12mo. [Excellent.]

Greg, W. R., *The Creed of Christendom, its Foundations contrasted with its Superstructure*, 8th edit., with an introduction, 2 vols., Trübner, 1883. [An anti-miraculous examination of the claims and contents of Mosaism and Christianity as given in the Scriptures.]

Ladd, G. T., *The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture, a Critical,*

Historical, and Dogmatic Inquiry into the Origin and Nature of the Old and New Testaments, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1883. [Elaborate, scholarly, but somewhat indefinite.]

(4.) *Of the Historical Accuracy of the Bible.*

HENGSTENBERG, E. W., *Egypt and the Books of Moses, or the Books of Moses illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt, translated from the German by R. D. C. Robbins, with additional notes by W. Cooke Taylor*, T. & T. Clark, 1845.

PRIAULX, O. DE B., *Questiones Mosaicæ, or the First Part of the Book of Genesis compared with the Remains of Ancient Religions*, 2nd edit., Chapman, 1854.

RAWLINSON, GEO., *The Historical Evidences of the Truth of the Scripture Records, stated anew, with special reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times, Bampton Lecture for* 1859, Murray, 1859.

——— *Egypt and Babylon, from Scripture and Profane Sources*, Hodder, 1885.

EBERS, G., *Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's, sachlicher Commentar zu den Ægyptischen Stellen in Genesis und Exodus*, vol. i. (all published), Leipsic 1868.

M'CAUSLAND, D., *Adam and the Adamite, or the Harmony of Scripture and Ethnology*, 2nd edit. 12mo, Bentley, 1868.

——— *The Builders of Babel*, Bentley, 12mo, 1874. [Substantiates the confusion of tongues from pre-historic archæology.]

GAINET, ABBÉ, *La Bible sans la Bible, ou histoire de l'ancien et du nouveau testament par les seuls témoignages profanes*, 2 vols., 2nd edit., Bar-le-Duc 1871. [Romanist: a mine of materials for showing the historical character of Scripture.]

——— *Accord de la Bible et de la Géologie dans la Création de six jours, dans le récit du déluge mosaïque, et dans l'époque de l'apparition de l'homme*, Paris 1876.

SAVILE, B. W., *The Truth of the Bible, evidence from the Mosaic and other records of creation, the origin and antiquity of*

man, the science of Scripture, and from the archæology of different nations of the earth, 12mo, Longmans, 1871.

SCRADER, E., *Die Keilinscriften und das Alte Testament,* 1st edit. 1872, 2nd edit. 1883, Giessen; translated with additions by O. C. Whitehouse, Williams & Norgate, 1885. [Follows the order of Scripture, and gives under each verse any elucidation from the cuneiform inscriptions.]

RITCHIE, A. T., *The Creation, the Earth's Formation on Dynamical Principles in accordance with the Mosaic Record and the latest Scientific Discoveries,* 5th edit., Isbister, 1874. [Very striking.]

VIGOUROUX, F., *La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes en Palestine, en Egypte et en Assyrie, avec des plans, des cartes, et des illustrations d'après les monuments,* Paris, 4 vols. 12mo, 1877, 4th edit. 1884. [Uses the recent discoveries in Biblical archæology to purpose; Romanist.]

GRANT, P. W., *The Bible Record of Creation True for every Age,* Hodder, 1877.

LEWIS, TAYLER, *The Six Days of Creation, or the Scriptural Cosmology with the ancient Idea of Time-worlds in distinction from Worlds in Space,* new edit. 12mo, T. & T. Clark, 1879.

LENORMANT, F., *Les Origines de l'Histoire d'après la Bible et les traditions des Peuples Orientaux;* vol. i. From the Creation to the Deluge, Paris 1880; vol. ii. The New Humanity and the Dispersion, 1882; vol. ii., 2nd part, 1884. [An important comparison of Scripture with extant tradition.]

KINNS, SAMUEL, *Moses and Geology, or the Harmony of the Bible with Science, with* 110 *illustrations,* 1st edit. 1881, 7th edit. 1884, Cassell.

ROUGEMONT, A. DE, *Essai d'un Commentaire Scientifique de la Genèse,* Paris 1883. [Treats of the unity of matter, unity of force, unity of life, transformation, periods of creation, unity of man, sanctification, fall and redemption, all as taught in Genesis and by science.]

GUYOT, ARNOLD, *Creation or the Biblical Cosmogony in the Light of Modern Science,* T. & T. Clark, 1883, 12mo. [Written by an eminent man of science.]

(5.) *Of the Miracles of Scripture.*

CAMPBELL, GEO., *A Dissertation on Miracles, containing an Examination of the Principles advanced by David Hume in an Essay on Miracles, with a correspondence on the subject*, Tegg, 1824.

TRENCH, R. C., *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*, 1st edit. 1858, 8th edit. 1870. [In a preliminary essay the general questions concerning miracles are considered.]

MOZLEY, J. B., *Eight Lectures on Miracles preached before the University of Oxford in the year* 1865 *on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton*, 3rd edit. 12mo, Rivingtons, 1872. [Most able.]

NEWMAN, J. H., *Two Essays on Scripture Miracles and on Ecclesiastical*, 2nd edit. 12mo, Pickering, 1870. [The first essay deals with the Scripture miracles.]

Supernatural Religion, an Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation, 3 vols., complete edition (7th), Longmans, 1879. [Part i. endeavours to show the impossibility of a supernatural revelation by an examination of the question of miracles.]

(6.) *Of the Prophecy of Scripture.*

NOTE.—Compare the books given in § 65 (3.).

KEITH, ALEXANDER, *Evidences of the Truth of the Christian Religion, derived from the literal fulfilment of Prophecy*, Edinburgh; more than forty editions have been published.

SMITH, GEO., *The Book of Prophecy, comprising a proof of the plenary inspiration of Holy Scripture, a classified arrangement of prophecies already fulfilled or in course of fulfilment, and prophecy as the testimony of Jesus, considered in its relation to the faith of the Church and the progress of scepticism*, Longmans, 1865.

SAVILE, B. W., *Fulfilled Prophecy in Proof of the Truth of Scripture*, Longmans, 1882.

(7.) *Of the Validity and Relative Value of Ecclesiastical Theology.*

NEWMAN, J. H., *Two Essays on Miracles*, see (5.). [The second essay treats of ecclesiastical miracles.]

DOELLINGER, J. J. F. VON, *Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era, an Historical Essay, translated with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices by Alfred Plummer*, Rivingtons, 1873.

HETTINGER, FR., *Der Beweis des Christenthums*, 5th edit., Freiburg 1875, 2 vols. in 5 parts. [Romanist.]

—— *Lehrbuch der Fundamental-Theologie oder Apologetik*, 2 parts, Freiburg 1879. [Part i. treats of the proof of the Christian, and part ii. of the Roman Catholic, religion.]

SUBDIVISION II.: DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY, §§ 84-86.

§ 84.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

THE foundations of comparative theology having then been carefully laid by fundamental theology, doctrinal theology may advance securely to the superstructure, the erection of a system of theological truth. By careful comparison of the results afforded by the several sources of religious truth, and comparison in obedience to the principles of fundamental theology, all that it is possible for man to know concerning his supernatural relations may be gradually formulated. In fact, doctrinal theology is an accurate and concatenated statement of all those truths concerning God and man, and their relations, which are logically inferrible from the various sources of religious knowledge. Other names have been suggested for this branch of theology. Thus by a slight variation some have preferred to speak of *dogmatics* or dogmatic theology, doctrine and dogma being in the Protestant view identical terms. Some again have selected the name *constructive* theology, not without appropriateness, seeing that this division of comparative theology would rear a lasting edifice from the various materials supplied by the sources of religious knowledge. Because of the positive character of the science, others again have adopted the name *thetic* theology. And because of the systematized form the science necessarily adopts, many have used the most frequent name of all, *systematic* theology. All these names are good, but a slight preference seems to attach to the term doctrinal theology, because it carries its meaning in its face.

The PROBLEM therefore of doctrinal theology is twofold,—on the one hand, to both collect the data available upon any doctrine and comprehend these data under a suitable formula, and on the other hand, to place this formula in its proper relations with other formulas. In other words, one aim is inductive, and the other systematic. In practice it will be found that these two aims are really one aim from different sides. Truth is so interrelated with truth, that, as in art, so in science, truth is seldom reached without attention to the general result. It is the crude thinker, as it is the juvenile artist, who ignores the effect of collocation. Let a Luther grasp more firmly the doctrine of justification, and large readjustments show themselves unavoidable in his doctrine of God, his doctrine of man, his doctrine of salvation, and his doctrine of the Church. Nor is this a solitary instance. The more the currents of religious thought are watched, the more certain does it appear that no doctrine can be perfectly studied alone. Every doctrine has relations with every other doctrine. Our system of truth has its influence upon our more restricted investigations. Indeed, there is peculiar ground for anxiety lest the vice of the specialist intrude into the study of theology. Hence the point insisted on is important, namely, that the correct formulation of any single doctrine will only follow the due recognition of two varieties of data, that is to say, the data for the special doctrine under consideration, and the data for all other doctrines. In every readjustment of doctrine which brings us nearer perfect truth, much is due to a completer study of system as well as to a completer study of isolated facts. For example, was it not an error of system which led Schleiermacher astray, the undue prominence given by him to the Christian consciousness incapacitating him, except at a sacrifice of logic, for giving suitable acknowledgment to many important points of religious truth? Similarly, was it not an error of system when Calvin gave so great a preponderance to the divine glory as to dim his perception of the wide reach of the doctrine of human freedom? To attain an adequate generalization in doctrinal theology, in a word, to reach true doctrine, it is not only necessary to frame by

mental effort a doctrine which adequately expresses all the data relative to the one doctrine in hand, it is also needful to frame a doctrine which harmonizes with all other doctrines. The divine revelation to man must be harmonious, and it is a sin against this unity of truth if we do not keep such unity ever in mind. To reach a valid doctrine of the atonement for sin, we must study the data for the nature of God and the nature and consequences of the sin of man as well as the data for the work of Christ; in other words, we must investigate the work of Christ in ceaseless connection with the system of religious truth. What it is necessary to say by way of qualifying this general truth will appear in the next section.

§ 85.

DIVISION AND BRIEF OUTLINE OF DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

SYSTEM then being by no means unimportant, it is interesting to notice that the only question as to the division of doctrinal theology is a question of system. As to the leading divisions themselves, there has seldom been a question amongst those who have regarded the science as a *vera scientia*. The doctrines of God, spirits, the world, man, sin, Christ, salvation, the Church, and the last things have been commonly acknowledged to be the *summa genera* of doctrinal theology, although some writers have preferred one technical term for the constituent doctrines and one another, and although some have elected to treat of two or more of these doctrines under a single head. The unsolved problem is a problem of system. The question upon which agreement has to be reached is a question as to the principle of division to be acknowledged. Now, as was said at the close of the last section, it is the express recognition of a *principium divisionis*, and the arrangement of the series of doctrines accordingly, which enables us to pass from a haphazard and non-ordered treatment to a treatment which is at once systematic and helpful.

Let it be noticed, accordingly, that any one of these leading divisions themselves may become the principle by which the others may be subordinated, and, as a matter of fact, history shows that most, if not all, the above divisions have been made the key to a systematic arrangement. Thus Calvin and many others, Martensen most recently, made the doctrine of the Trinity the principle of division; following the arrangement of the so-called Apostles' Creed, they regarded all the other doctrines as subsidiary to the doctrine of God, and treated of the world, and man, and sin under

the doctrine of the Father, of the person and work of Christ under the doctrine of the Son, and of the remaining doctrines under the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Others, like Lange and Thomasius in Germany, and Dr. Patton and Professor H. B. Smith in America, have made their system Christocentric as they say, regarding the doctrines of God, angels, the world, man, and sin as preparatory to Christ (as ideal Christology, as Lange says), regarding the doctrine of Christ itself (real Christology in Lange's phrase) as the fulfilment of the preparation, and regarding the entire history of man from Pentecost to the new heavens and earth as the manifestation of the glorified Christ (or universal Christology, to adopt again Lange's term). Schleiermacher and his school have constituted the doctrine of salvation their principle of division; Oosterzee has made the doctrine of the Church his; Schöberlein has made his treatment turn about the idea of the divine love; Coccejus and his school have made the entire system revolve about the subordinate idea of the covenants. Similarly, just as some have based their doctrinal scheme upon the doctrine of man, it would be possible to view the entire range of doctrine as illustrative of the ministry of angels, of the life-history of the created universe, or even of the preliminaries to the day of judgment.

For several reasons, such a mode of division, by subordination to some individual doctrine, seems undesirable. For, first, in all such cases the principle of division is subjective, being based on some initial conviction as to the preponderating importance of some single doctrine. Secondly, every advance in physical science having been made by rigidly eschewing the bias of subjective principles of any kind, similar exclusion may probably be of advantage in theological science. Thirdly, history shows that whenever subjective principles have been allowed to rule, a more or less unconscious twist has been given to the subordinated parts of the system. For example, to fix the eye too engrossedly upon the attributes of God has tended to the depreciation of the attributes of man; to contemplate with too rapt a devotion the redeemed state has tended to the minimizing of the exceeding sinfulness of sin; to rivet the gaze too fixedly upon the stupendous divine love

has tended to weaken the sight when directed upon the divine justice. All these reasons suggest that the scientific principle of division should be objective, based, that is to say, upon the actual relations existing in the objects studied, not upon any self-originated opinion of ours as to the relations existing in the objects.

Now, again and again it has been seen during the course of this book, that all scientific study, whether in mass or in detail, should be governed by a single principle,—advance from the simpler to the more complex, advance, that is, according to the true order of study. So far from all knowledge being co-ordinate, it is divisible into a variety of grades, advancing from the least intricate to the most involved. You cannot multiply till you have learnt to add, and you cannot understand chemical formulæ until you have mastered arithmetic. A similar subordination runs throughout nature, and the more complex sciences demand for their prosecution a preliminary acquaintance with the more simple sciences. Now is gradation of any kind visible in the range of doctrines? Can some doctrines be studied apart from others? Is it only possible to approach some doctrines after a preliminary acquaintance with others? That there is some such subordination seems to be implied in the fact of the practical unanimity of all Christendom upon the doctrine of God, and the very great diversity upon the doctrine of the last things. Again, a doctrine of the work of Christ manifestly depends upon the doctrines of sin and of the person of Christ, just as these in turn rest upon the doctrine of God. There is a true order of study in doctrine, both suggestive and probative, an order well expressed by Principal Campbell in his well-known *Lectures upon Systematic Theology*, as follows: "There are indeed few arts or sciences which may not be digested into different methods, and each method may have advantages peculiar to itself; yet in general it may be affirmed that that arrangement will answer best upon the whole, wherein the order of nature is most strictly adhered to, and wherein nothing is taught previously which presupposes the knowledge of what is to be explained afterwards."[1] The true order of

[1] Pp. 8, 9.

study is to advance from the simpler doctrine to the more complex, meaning by the simpler doctrine that which is the more capable of isolated investigation. It will be seen, as the enumeration of doctrines in their due order proceeds, that this progressive order is also the order of time, and, in some striking respects, is the order of the presentation of great controversies in the course of Christian history, the great problems of the doctrine of God coming first to the front, then those of the nature of man and the consequences of sin, then the doctrine of salvation, whereas many a discussion must still rage round the doctrine of the last things.

The *first division* of doctrinal theology is therefore the *Doctrine of God* (theology proper), treated under the doctrine of God as one and as triune.

The *second division* is the *Doctrine of Angels and Spirits* (angelology), their nature, state, employments, and separation into good and evil, concerning which doctrine let it be noticed that it cannot be studied apart from the doctrine of God, just as the existence of God preceded that of angels.

The *third division* is the *Doctrine of the Cosmos* (cosmology), which treats of the creation, conservation, and impermanence of the world, where again be it noticed that the doctrines of creation, conservation, and impermanence involve the doctrines, just as their data follow the existence, of God and angels.

The *fourth division* is the *Doctrine of Man* (anthropology), his origin, nature, unity, perpetuation, and original state, which doctrine again is preceded in study by the doctrines of God his Creator, of angels his ministrants and tempters, of the creation by which he was made, and the conservation by which he has been sustained, just as the data of the doctrine of man succeed the data of the preceding doctrines.

The *fifth division* is the *Doctrine of Sin* (hamartology), its nature, origin, and consequences, which again presupposes in study and in time all the preceding doctrines or their data.

The *sixth division* is the *Doctrine of Christ* (Christology), of His person in its pre-existence, incarnation, and post-existence, and His threefold work as Prophet, Priest, and King, in the treatment of which doctrine again the results or data of the preceding divisions must be assumed.

The *seventh division* is the *Doctrine of Salvation* (soteriology), with its subdivision into the doctrines of predestination, election, regeneration, justification, sanctification, and perseverance, concerning which doctrine the same remark as to the order of study and time must be made.

The *eighth division* is the *Doctrine of the Church* (ecclesiology), its origin, notes, purposes, progress, and instruments, during the discussion and recognition of which the doctrines of salvation, Christ, sin, man, the cosmos, angels, and God, or the data of these doctrines, are again and again indispensable.

The *ninth division* is the *Doctrine of the Last Things* (eschatology), including the doctrines of the intermediate state, the resurrection, the second advent, the final judgment, and the permanent state of the blessed and the cursed, in the formulation of which doctrine, just as in the existence of the last things, all the preceding doctrines or their data are frequently implied.

Such is a brief outline of the task of doctrinal theology, which has to ask upon every subject what is known from nature concerning it, what is known from the ethnic faiths, what is known from Scripture, and what is known from the history of doctrine, the several results thus given being duly utilized and subordinated according to the deliverances of fundamental theology. For example, our knowledge of God, of His existence and attributes, is derivable from all four sources. What is desiderated therefore in the doctrine of God is, first, to unfold the natural doctrine; next, to illustrate and substantiate this natural doctrine from the ethnic doctrine; thirdly, to show how the Biblical doctrine both emphasizes and develops the natural doctrine; fourthly, to trace the gradual elimination of heretical views and the gradual formulation of sound views in the history of the Christian Church; and finally, to present all these various phases of the doctrine harmoniously and with precision, guarded against error and presenting all truth. If the task be difficult, the reward is proportioned to the task.

§ 86.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON DOCTRINAL THEOLOGY.

I. *For Introductory Study.*

NOTE.—After reading carefully the history of comparative theology (§ 78), so as to appreciate the standpoint assumed by the several writers on doctrine, the student is recommended to study carefully some doctrinal system which covers the whole ground — for example, Hodge's *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols., or Dorner's *System of Christian Doctrine*, 4 vols.

II. *For More Advanced Study.*

NOTE.—The several systematic treatises which handle the whole range of Christian doctrine have been sufficiently characterized in § 78. It only remains now to call attention to important works which treat of sections of the whole science.

(1.) *On the Doctrine of God.*

NOTE.—Compare § 20 (4.), § 26 (16. and 17.), § 65 (7.), and § 75 (20. *f.*).

ON THE DOCTRINE OF GOD GENERALLY—

CHARNOCK, STEPHEN, *Discourses upon the Existence and Attributes of God*, vols. i.–iii. of *Works*, 9 vols., 1815. [Still instructive reading, because of its learning and insight.]

SENGLER, J., *Die Idee Gottes*, Heidelberg, 2 vols., 1845–52. [The first vol. is historical; the second is doctrinal, with much that is speculative on the nature and life of God, and His relation to the creation and redemption of the world.]

ON THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD—

CRAWFORD, T. J., *The Fatherhood of God, considered in its General and Special Aspects, and particularly in relation to the Atonement, with a review of recent*

speculations on the subject, 2nd edit., Edinburgh 1867, 3rd edit. 1878.

Candlish, R. S., *The Fatherhood of God, being the First Course of the Cunningham Lectures, delivered in* 1864, 2 vols. 12mo, Edinburgh 1870.

On the Trinity—

Bull, Geo., *Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*, 1st edit. 1685, best edit. in *Works*, 8 vols., 1827; translated in 2 vols., Oxford 1851 (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology), under the title, *A Defence of the Nicene Creed, out of the extant Writings of the Catholick Doctors, who flourished during the first three centuries of the Christian Church, etc.*

Waterland, Daniel, *The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity asserted, etc.*, 1719, reprinted in vol. iii. of the edition of the *Works*, in 6 vols., Oxford 1843.

Faber, G. S., *The Apostolicity of Trinitarianism*, 2 vols. 1832.

On the Holy Spirit—

Faber, G. S., *A Practical Treatise on the Ordinary Operations of the Holy Spirit*, 6th edit. 12mo, Rivingtons, 1846.

Kahnis, C. F. A., *Die Lehre vom heiligen Geiste*, vol. i. (all published), Halle 1847.

Stowell, W. H., *On the Work of the Spirit*, Jackson, 1849.

Buchanan, Jas., *On the Office and Work of the Holy Spirit*, T. & T. Clark, 1856.

Hare, J. C., *The Mission of the Comforter*, 4th edit. 12mo, Macmillan, 1884.

Vincenzi, A., *De Processione Spiritus Sancti ex patre filioque adversus Græcos*, Rome 1878.

Walker, J. B., *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, or Philosophy of the Divine Operation in the Redemption of Man*, new edit., Cincinnati 1880.

Smeaton, Geo., *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the Ninth Series of Cunningham Lectures*, T. & T. Clark, 1882. [Three divisions, — first, the Biblical

doctrine of the Trinity; second, the personality, procession, and work of the Spirit; third, historical survey of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit from the Apostolic Age.]

(2.) *On the Doctrine of the World, its Creation and Conservation.*

NOTE.—Compare § 20 (9.) and § 75 (20. *h.*).

HICKOK, LAURENS P., *Creator and Creation, or the Knowledge in the Reason of God and His Work,* Boston 1872.

(3.) *On the Doctrine of Man.*

NOTE.—Compare § 20 (10.), § 65 (8.), § 69 (1.), and § 75 (20. *i.*).

ON MAN'S PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE—

HEARD, J. B., *The Tripartite Nature of Man,—Spirit, Soul, Body,—applied to illustrate and explain the Doctrines of Original Sin, the New Birth, the Disembodied State, and the Spiritual Body,* 1st edit. 1863, 5th edit. 1884, 12mo, T. & T. Clark.

ON MAN'S ORIGINAL STATE—

ZÖCKLER, O., *Die Lehre vom Urstand des Menschen geschichtlich und dogmatisch-apologetisch dargestellt,* Gütersloh 1880.

(4.) *On the Doctrine of Sin.*

NOTE.—Compare § 20 (11.), § 65 (9.).

ON THE DOCTRINE OF SIN GENERALLY—

MÜLLER, JUL., *Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde,* 6th edit. 2 vols. 1877, translated by Wm. Urwick, from the 5th German edition, under the title of *The Christian Doctrine of Sin,* 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1868.

TULLOCH, JOHN, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin,* 12mo, Blackwood, 1876. [Six lectures on the Question

of Sin in relation to Modern Thought, on the Idea of Evil outside of Revelation, on the Doctrine of Sin in the Old Testament, in the Gospels, and in St. Paul, and on Original Sin.]

On the Origin of Evil—

King, William, *An Essay on the Origin of Evil, translated from the Latin, with large Notes, to which are added two Sermons by the same author,* 4th edit., corrected by Edmund Law, Cambridge 1758.

Bushnell, Horace, *The Moral Uses of Dark Things,* New York, 12mo, 1876.

(5.) *On the Doctrine of Christ.*

Note.—Compare § 65 (10.) and § 75 (20. *j.*).

On the Doctrine of Christ generally—

Sartorius, E., *Die Lehre von Christi Person und Werk,* 7th edit. 12mo, 1860. [Brief but suggestive.]

Thomasius, G., *Christi Person und Werk,* 2nd edit. 3 vols., Erlangen 1862–64.

Gess, W. F., *Christi Person und Werk nach Christi Selbstzeugniss und den Zeugnissen der Apostel,* 3 vols., Basle 1870, 1878, and 1879.

On the Doctrine of the Person of Christ—

Liddon, H. P., *The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Bampton Lectures for* 1866, Rivingtons, 1877; nine editions since.

Bruce, A. B., *The Humiliation of Christ in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects, the Sixth Series of Cunningham Lectures,* 2nd edit., T. & T. Clark, 1881, 1st edit. 1875.

Pope, W. B., *The Person of Christ, Dogmatically, Scripturally, and Historically Considered,* 2nd edit., Woolmer 1878.

Schultz, H., *Die Lehre von der Gottheit Christi, Communicatio idiomatum,* Gotha 1881. [Historical, Biblical, and dogmatic.]

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE WORK OF CHRIST—

NOTE.—Many of the books named below are estimated critically in the author's *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, pp. 325, etc.

KÖNIG, J. L., *Die Lehre von Christi Höllenfahrt*, Frankfort 1842.

WARDLAW, R., *Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement in Christ*, 2nd edit. 12mo, Glasgow 1844.

GÜDER, E., *Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Todten*, Berne 1853.

HASSE, H. G., *Die Lehre der verklärten Erlösers im Himmel*, Leipsic 1854.

DEWAR, D., *The Atonement, its Nature, Reality, and Efficacy*, 3rd edit., Nisbet, 1860.

PARK, E. A., editor, *The Atonement, Discourses and Treatises by Edwards, Smalley, Maxey, Emmons, Griffin, Burge, and Weeks, with an Introductory Essay by E. A. Park* (on the Rise of the Edwardean Theory of the Atonement), Boston 1863.

BUSHNELL, H., *The Vicarious Sacrifice grounded in Principles of Universal Obligation*, New York 1866, Strahan, 1871, 12mo.

—— *Forgiveness and Law grounded in Principles interpreted by Human Analogies*, 12mo, Hodder, 1874.

CANDLISH, R. S., *The Atonement, its Efficacy and Extent*, Edinburgh, 12mo, 1867.

HODGE, A. A., *The Atonement*, Nelson, 12mo, 1868.

CAMPBELL, J. M'LEOD, *The Nature of the Atonement, and its Relation to Remission of Sins and Eternal Life*, 3rd edit., Macmillian, 1869.

STROUD, WM., *Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, and its Relation to the Principles and Practice of Christianity*, 2nd edit. 12mo, Glasgow 1871.

THOLUCK, A., *Die Lehre von der Sünde und vom Versöhner, oder Die wahre Weihe des Zweiflers*, 9th edit., Gotha 1871.

Dale, R. W., *The Atonement, the Congregational Lecture for* 1875, Hodder, 1875, 8th edit. 12mo, 1885.

Randles, M., *Substitution, a Treatise on the Atonement*, Thomas, 1877.

Samson, G. W., *The Atonement, viewed as assumed Divine Responsibility; traced as the Fact attested in Divine Revelation; shown to be Truth harmonizing Christian Theories; and recognised as the Grace realized in Human Experience*, Philadelphia, 16mo, 1878.

Oswald, J. H., *Die Erlösung in Christo Jesu nach der Lehre der katholischen Kirche dargestellt*, 2 vols., Paderborn 1878.

Kreibig, G., *Die Versöhnungslehre auf Grund des christlichen Bewusstseins dargestellt*, Berlin 1878.

Miley, J., *The Atonement in Christ*, 12mo, New York 1881.

Oxenham, H. N., *The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement, an Historical Review, with an Introduction on the Principle of Theological Developments*, 3rd edit., Allen, 1881.

(6.) *On the Doctrine of Salvation.*

Note.—Compare § 75 (20. *k*.).

On the Doctrine of Salvation generally—

Hänchen, E., *Die Lehre von dem Heil, Versuch einer biblischen Dogmatik*, 1st half, Erlangen 1878.

On Predestination—

Mozley, J. B., *A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*, 2nd edit. 12mo, Murray, 1878.

On Regeneration—

Faber, G. S., *The Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, Seeley, 1840.

Phelps, Austin, *The New Birth, or the Work of the Holy Spirit*, 16mo, Boston 1866.

On Justification—

Faber, G. S., *The Primitive Doctrine of Justification*, 2nd edit., Seeley, 1839.

Buchanan, Jas., *The Doctrine of Justification, an Outline of its History in the Church, and of its Exposition from Scripture, with special reference to recent Attacks on the Theology of the Reformation, Second Series of the Cunningham Lectures*, T. & T. Clark, 1867.

Ritschl, A., *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, 3 vols., Bonn 1870–1874, 2nd edit. 1882.

Newman, J. H., *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification*, 3rd edit. 12mo, Rivingtons, 1874.

On Perfection—

Wendt, H. H., *Die christliche Lehre von der menschlichen Volkommenheit untersucht*, Göttingen 1882.

(7.) *On the Doctrine of the Church.*

Note.—Compare § 65 (11.) and § 75 (20. *l.*).

On the Doctrine of the Church generally—

Bannerman, Jas., *The Church of Christ, a Treatise on the Nature, Powers, Ordinances, Discipline, and Government of the Christian Church*, 2 vols., T. & T. Clark, 1868.

Reynolds, H. R., editor, *Ecclesia, Church Problems considered in a Series of Essays*, first series 1870, second series 1871. [A series of representative essays on Church questions by Congregational writers.]

M'Elhinney, J. J., *Doctrine of the Church, a Historical Monograph; with a Bibliography of the Subject*, Philadelphia 1871.

Lerch, M. F., *Die Kirche Christi in ihrem Wesen, ihren Eigenschaften, und Beziehungen*, Vienna 1877.

Stanley, A. P., *Christian Institutions, Essays on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, 3rd edit., Murray, 1882. [Essays on Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Absolution, Vestments, the Officers of the Church, etc.]

Morris, E. D., *Ecclesiology, a Treatise on the Church and Kingdom of God on Earth, the Christian Doctrine in*

Outline, New York 1885. [Part i., the Church in the divine plan; Part ii., the impersonal constituents of the Church; Part iii., the personal constituents of the Church; Part iv., the Church as a divine kingdom; Part v., the Church in human society.]

On the Polity of the Church—

Hooker, Richard, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, the best edition is that arranged, with the other works of Hooker, by John Keble, in 3 vols., 3rd edit., Oxford 1845. [Episcopal.]

Cunningham, Wm., *Discussions on Church Principles, Popish, Erastian, and Presbyterian, edited by his literary executors*, T. & T. Clark, 1863. [Presbyterian.]

Stahl, F. J., *Die Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre und Recht der Protestanten*, 2nd edit., Erlangen 1863.

Hodge, C., *The Church and its Polity*, Nelson, 1879. [Presbyterian.]

Ladd, G. T., *The Principles of Church Polity, illustrated by an analysis of modern Congregationalism, and applied to certain important practical questions in the government of Christian Churches*, New York 1882.

Dale, R. W., *A Manual of Congregational Principles*, 12mo, Hodder, 1884.

On the Doctrine of the Invisible Church—

Münchmeyer, A. F. O., *Das Dogma von der sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Kirche*, Göttingen 1854.

Krauss, A., *Das protestant. Dogma von der unsichtbaren Kirche*, Gotha 1876.

On the Doctrine of the Sacraments generally—

Halley, Robert, *An Inquiry into the Nature of the Symbolic Institutions of the Christian Religion, usually called the Sacraments*, 2 vols., 2nd edit. 12mo, Jackson, 1854. [Zwinglian.]

On the Doctrine of Baptism—

Godwin, J. H., *Christian Baptism, an Inquiry into the Scripture Evidence of its Nature, the Mode, Subjects,*

and Design of the Rite, and the meaning of the Term, 16mo, Snow, 1845. [Pædo-baptist.]

HÖFLING, J. W. F., *Das Sacrament der Taufe, dogmatisch, historisch, liturgisch dargestellt*, 2 vols., Erlangen 1846, 1848.

IRONS, W. J., *The Judgments on Baptismal Regeneration*, —1. *The Court of Arches*; 2. *The State Courts of Privy Council*; 3. *The Present English Bishops*; 4. *The Present Scottish Bishops; with appendices and a Discourse on Heresy*, Masters, 1850–1852.

MOZLEY, J. B., *The Primitive Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration*, Murray, 1856.

INGHAM, R., *A Handbook of Christian Baptism*, Simpkin, 1865; also *Christian Baptism, its Subjects*, Stock, 1871. [Baptist.]

HODGES, WILLIAM, *Baptism tested by Scripture and History, or the Teaching of the Holy Scriptures, and the Practice and Teaching of the Christian Church in every Age succeeding the Apostolic, compared in relation to the Subjects and Modes of Baptism*, 3rd edit, New York, 12mo, 1875.

COTE, W. N., *The Archæology of Baptism*, Yates, 1876.

FORD, D. R., *Studies on the Baptismal Question, including Review of Dr. Dale's* [*Jas.*] *inquiry into usage of βαπτίζω*, New York 1879.

Paralipomena, or Things Left Out, being more facts for Theodosia Ernest and all who like her are in quest of the true doctrine of Christian Baptism, by One of Themselves, Dickinson, 1884. [A bad title, but a good book.]

ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER—

EBRARD, J. H. A., *Das Dogma vom heil. Abendmahl und seine Geschichte*, 2 vols., Frankfort 1845–1846. [Lutheran.]

KAHNIS, K. F. A., *Die Lehre vom Abendmahle*, Leipsic 1851. [Lutheran.]

WISEMAN, N., *Lectures on the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord in the Holy Eucharist, proved from Scripture*, new edit., Dublin 1852. [Romanist.]

Pusey, E. B., *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Doctrine of the English Church, with a Vindication of the Reception by the Wicked, and of the Adoration of our Lord Jesus Christ, truly present,* Oxford 1857.

Nevin, J. W., *The Mystical Presence, a Vindication of the Reformed or Calvinistic Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist,* 12mo, Philadelphia 1867.

Macnaught, John, *Cœna Domini, an Essay on the Lord's Supper, its Primitive Institution, Apostolic Uses, and Subsequent History,* Kegan Paul, 1878. [Excellent; strong in its critical history of the doctrine in the Church of England.]

The Lord's Supper, its Design, and the Benefit it confers to the Individual and the Church, a Clerical Symposium, Hodder, 1881. [Brief papers by men of all parties.]

(8.) *On the Doctrine of the Last Things.*

Note.—Compare § 65 (12.) and § 75 (20. *m.*).

On the Doctrine of the Last Things in general—

Richter, F., *Die Lehre von den letzten Dingen,* 2 vols., Breslau 1843, 1844. [The first vol. treats of the doctrines of death, immortality, and the intermediate state; the second, of the day of judgment.]

Lee, Sam., *Eschatology, or the Scripture Doctrine of the Coming of Our Lord, the Judgment and the Resurrection,* 12mo, Boston 1858.

Alger, W. R., *The Destiny of the Soul, a Critical History of a Future Life, 10th edition, with six new chapters and a complete bibliography of the subject, comprising 4977 books relating to the nature, origin, and destiny of the soul, the titles classified and arranged chronologically, with notes and indexes of authors and subjects by Ezra Abbott,* Boston 1880. [Presents the ethnic, Biblical, ecclesiastical, and comparative doctrine of a future life, with supplementary chapters on the End of the World,

the Day of Judgment, the Mythological and Real Hell, the Gates of Heaven, or the Law of Salvation in all Worlds.]

On Hades—

Note.—Compare König and Güder in 5 of this section.

Lee, F. G., *The Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed, new edit., with copious notes and appendices,* Isbister, 1875. [Argues in favour.]

Huidekoper, F., *The Belief of the First Three Centuries concerning Christ's Mission to the Under World,* 12mo, New York 1876.

Plumptre, E. H., *The Spirits in Prison, and other Studies of the Life after Death,* 3rd. edit., Isbister, 1885.

On the Resurrection—

Drew, Sam., *An Essay on the Identity and General Resurrection of the Human Body, in which the evidences in favour of these important subjects are considered in relation both to Philosophy and Scripture,* London 1822.

Bush, Geo., *Anastasis, or the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body, Rationally and Scripturally Considered,* 12mo, New York 1845.

Hanna, Wm., *The Resurrection of the Dead,* Edinburgh 1872.

Bautz, Jos., *Die Lehre vom Auferstehungsleibe nach ihrer positiven und speculativen Seite dargestellt,* Paderborn 1877.

On the Second Advent—

Brown, David, *Christ's Second Coming, will it be Premillennial?* T. & T. Clark, 1849, 7th edit. 1882, 12mo. [An excellent reply in the negative.]

Weiffenbach, W., *Der Wiederkunftsgedanke Jesu, nach den Synoptikern kritisch untersucht und dargestellt,* Leipsic 1873.

Kelly, W., *Lectures on the Second Coming of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,* new edit., 12mo, Broom 1876.

Merrill, S. M., *The Second Coming of Christ considered*

in its relation to the Millennium, the Resurrection, and Judgment, 12mo, Cincinnati 1879.

GUINNESS, H. GRATTAN, *The Approaching End of the Age viewed in the Light of History, Prophecy, and Science*, 1st edit. 1878, 6th edit. 1880.

WARREN, F. P., *The Parousia; Critical Study of Scripture Doctrines of Christ's Second Coming, His Reign as King, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the General Judgment*, 12mo, Portland, Maine, 1879.

GILES, C., *The Second Coming of Christ, its Cause, Signs, and Effects*, Philadelphia 1881.

PETERS, G. N. H., *The Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, as Covenanted in the Old Testament and Presented in the New*, 3 vols., New York 1884. [Premillennial: diffuse.]

ON THE DESTINY OF THE WICKED—

DEXTER, H. M., *The Verdict of Reason upon the Question of the Future Punishment of those who die impenitent*, 16mo, Boston 1865.

GEORGE, N. D., *Universalism, not of the Bible, being an Examination of more than one hundred Texts of Scripture in Controversy between Evangelical Christians and Universalists*, 12mo, New York 1874.

BROWN, BALDWIN, *The Doctrine of Annihilation*, Jas. Clark, 12mo, 1876. [Criticises this doctrine destructively.]

WHITE, EDWARD, *Life in Christ, a Study of the Scripture Doctrine of the Nature of Man, the Object of the Divine Incarnation, and the Conditions of Human Immortality*, 3rd edit., Stock, 1878. [Immortality conditional upon life in Christ.]

RINCK, H. W., *Vom Zustande nach dem Tode, Biblische Untersuchungen mit Berücksichtigung der einschlägigen alten und neuen Literatur*, Basle, 3rd edit. 1878.

JUKES, ANDREW, *The Second Death and the Restitution of all Things, with some Preliminary Remarks on the Nature and Inspiration of Holy Scripture; a Letter to a Friend*, 6th edit., Longmans, 1878. [Universalist.]

COX, SAMUEL, *Salvator Mundi, or is Christ the Saviour*

of all Men, 3rd edit., Kegan Paul, 1878. [Universalist.]

FARRAR, F. W., *Eternal Hope; Five Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey*, 12mo, Macmillan, 1878.

—— *Mercy and Judgment; Last Words on Christian Eschatology*, 2nd edit., Macmillan, 1882.

BEECHER, EDWARD, *History of Opinions on the Scriptural Doctrine of Retribution*, 12mo, New York 1878.

OXENHAM, F. N., *What is the Truth as to Everlasting Punishment? in reply to Dr. Pusey's late treatise, What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* 12mo, Kegan Paul, 1882. [Romanist.]

SMYTH, NEWMAN, *Dorner on the Future State, being a translation of the section of his System of Christian Doctrine comprising the Doctrine of the Last Things, with an Introduction and Notes*, New York, 12mo, 1883. [Argues for a future probation of the heathen and those similarly placed.]

PART II.

(Continued.)

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DIVISION VI.

PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

§ 87.

NAME, DEFINITION, AND PROBLEM OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

THE last division of theological science will call for but brief treatment. Pastoral theology handles, with completeness and order, the active life, the pastoral functions, of the Christian Church. As Hagenbach has well said, pastoral, or, as he prefers to say, practical theology, "embraces the theory of Church activities or functions, whether they be exercised by the Church as a whole or by individual members and representative persons acting for the Church." The definition is just. The Church cannot entirely delegate its pastoral functions. It is the Church at large which is ultimately responsible for the rearing and tending of the Lord's sheep. The Church at large is the shepherd of the world.

Pastoral theology, then, is the science of the functions of the Christian Church. As such it is the goal of all the branches which precede, or, as Schleiermacher expressed it, it is "the crown of the tree" of theological science, seeing that it shows how to practically employ for the advantage of mankind the results gained in the more theoretical studies which have gone before. Pastoral theology is in effect theoretical theology as applied to practical ends scientifically studied.

Indeed, to utilize the acknowledged distinction between a science theoretical and a science practical, pastoral theology is a science practical. So far as an art is theory utilized, pastoral theology may even be called an art. Nevertheless its scientific character must not be forgotten. The activities as well as the thoughts of men may be formulated with completeness and consecution, and pastoral theology examines with all due accuracy, fulness, and order the functions of the Christian Church. Therefore pastoral theology

is called a practical science, seeing that it is concerned with the methodical study of those general principles which rule the life of the Church and of their numerous applications. Pastoral theology should be to the Church worker what the study of the practice, as distinct from the theory, of medicine is to the medical practitioner.

As has been already mentioned, two NAMES have been adopted for this science. By many it has been called practical theology, because of its practical bearing. Undoubtedly there is some appropriateness in the name. The theoretical side of theology may, however, be utilized in so many ways, that there seems to be the same objection to calling this section of theology by the name of practical theology as there was to naming the third section exegetical theology; the title is in neither case sufficiently explicit. There is exegesis which is not Biblical, and there is practical theology which is not pastoral. For this reason,—because this section treats of the nature and duties of the Church in its pastoral relation to the world, so far as these can be reduced to system, the second name given by many to the science of pastoral theology has been preferred. The principal objection to this name is that pastoral theology has been frequently used to signify the duties of the official pastor as studied scientifically; but this use of the term is so liable to misunderstanding that frequent insistence upon the pastoral relations of the entire Church is rather commendable than otherwise. Pastoral theology, then, is a branch of technical training, and shows how to apply for the good of mankind the knowledge gained in the other branches of theology. More briefly, pastoral theology is the science of the functions of the Church.

The PROBLEM, then, of pastoral theology is to examine with completeness and order the various facts and principles which concern the active work of the Christian Church. Pastoral theology is thus an essential part of any theological training, seeing that it has direct reference both to the usefulness of the individual and the good of the community. To teach the exegesis of Scripture with care, to initiate into the fascinating course of the history of the Christian Church, to familiarize with the Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek of the

New, to induct into the principles and results of doctrinal discussion, and then to omit the scientific examination of the duties of the Christian worker, would be like introducing the painter to the great masters and all the splendid achievements and history of his art, and neglecting to teach him how to stretch his canvas, clean his brushes, and mix his colours; or it would be like teaching the sailor trigonometry and astronomy and physical geography, and many a foreign language, and forgetting to impart to him the principles of practical seamanship. It is true that some of the practical acquaintance with methods and ends may be picked up by the observant during apprenticeship, so to speak, to actual labour for the good of man; nevertheless, if a more orderly and rounded investigation be possible, it must be of considerable value, facilitating the crystallization of personal opinions as to objects and modes, imparting many a fruitful result of long experience, and instructing in those numerous principles and details which are common property whilst they are commonly esteemed.

The experiences of those practically acquainted with the pastoral work of the Church have many common features; these common elements form the data of the science of pastoral theology; the problem of the science is to present these data in order, together with the inferences they warrant.

§ 88.

THE UTILITY AND HISTORY OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

THE problem of pastoral theology being then to present in orderly manner any inductions which may be drawn from the pastoral experience of the Church generally, or from the nature of the case, such a science must be useful. If there be a large mass of valuable material commonly accepted because taught by common experience, it is mere eccentricity or shortsightedness to ignore these generally accredited maxims. It is true that in the pastoral work of the Church, as in all practical life, there is a large sphere for originality of act as well as of thought, and it is also true that no theoretical teaching can ever take the place of actual experience; nevertheless, whilst quite allowing that the swimmer must be made by swimming, and the singer by singing, and the Christian worker by working, there is always some advantage, and frequently a very considerable advantage, to be gained by technical training. Unless the art of preaching and of pastoral care always requires to be learnt by the preacher wholly for himself, or unless there is no possibility of scientific treatment of pastoral work, it scarcely calls for discussion that the candidate for the honours of pastoral work in any form will benefit by the study of pastoral theology. If there be such a science, it must be useful.

But perhaps the most conclusive proof of the value of such a science is to be found in the numerous books which have in all ages of the Church been devoted to the theoretical treatment of the pastoral functions of the Church and of its officials. It is not intended to name even a hundredth part of the literary testimony to the need of such a science, although books many might be quoted in illustration from all the phases of the varied life of the Christian Church of the

past. Many books might be cited from patristic and from mediæval literature which deal wholly or partially with what is here called pastoral theology. Letters, sermons, manuals might be quoted as instances. Chrysostom's work on the Priesthood, part of the *Ἀπολογητικός* of Gregory of Nazianzum, the works of Leo the Great and Gregory the Great on *Cura pastoralis*, the writings of St. Bernard, *De Consideratione*, *De moribus et officio episcoporum*, and *De vita et moribus clericorum*, are deserving of perusal to-day. The Reformation, transforming the priest into the pastor and teacher, naturally gave a considerable impetus to works on pastoral theology, in the writing of which Melanchthon and Zwingli led the way, the former with his *De Officiis Concionatoris*, and the latter with his *Pastor quo docetur quibus notis veri pastores a falsis discerni possint*. Similarly, from the time of the Reformation, works of a like kind have been numerous in England, in Germany, and in America, amongst Protestant nations, whilst Rome has always fostered works of this class. The more important recent works, especially of the more scientific type, will be given in § 90.

§ 89.

THE DIVISION OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

REMEMBERING, then, that the problem of pastoral theology is to present as fully, precisely, and rationally as possible the pastoral functions, whether of the Church at large, or of the officers of the Church, the division of the science must run somewhat as follows:—

FIRST comes *the theory of the Church* itself, of Church polity, its constitution, its members and its officers, its laws and its discipline, its means of support; where the rival theories of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Prelacy, in their various forms, call for examination.

Then, proceeding from the constitution of the Church, which to some extent determines its functions, to those functions themselves, we come, SECONDLY, to *the theory of worship*, or liturgics, as it is often called.

THIRDLY, advancing to a further function of the Church, we come to *the theory of preaching*, or homiletics.

FOURTHLY, we come to yet another function of the Church, *the theory of the training of the young*, or catechetics, as it is sometimes called.

FIFTHLY, we have *the theory of the training of pastors and teachers and other Church workers*, another vital part of the work of the Churches, to which the awkward name of pædagogics has been sometimes applied.

SIXTHLY, we have *the theory of the care of souls*, or the careful and thorough consideration of all those duties towards individuals who require Christian nurture and aid, as apart from the common worship and teaching of the Church.

SEVENTHLY, *the theory of Christian charities* should not be omitted, the assistance of the poor and needy being a very distinct function of the Christian Church.

EIGHTHLY, we must not overlook the important *theory of missions*, or of the carrying the gospel to those who are outside the pale of Church life.

Upon most of these heads many books have been written of a more or less scientific character, those which are merely preceptive and explanatory preponderating. A selection of useful books is appended in the next section.

§ 90.

BOOKS RECOMMENDED ON PASTORAL THEOLOGY.

NOTE.—The division of this subject given in the last section is rather that towards which the future of the science is likely to tend than that which has been scientifically elaborated. At present only two branches of the whole have been prosecuted with care, that is to say, homiletics, or the theory of preaching, and pastoral theology in the narrower sense, that is to say, the theory of the functions (other than preaching) exercised by the pastor. The following books are therefore arranged under three heads, the first dealing with pastoral theology in the wider sense as the science of the functions of the Church in general, the second with the theory of preaching, and the third with the theory of the work of the official pastor.

(1.) *On Pastoral Theology in the Wider Sense.*

HARMS, KL., *Pastoraltheologie, in Reden an Theologie-Studierende,* 3 vols. 3rd edit., Kiel 1878. [Pertinent, pungent, and readable.]

ZEZSCHWITZ, G. v., *System der praktischen Theologie,* 3 parts, Leipsic 1876–1878. [Systematic and complete.]

—— assisted by Plath, Harnack, and Schäfer, writes the very able sections upon this subject in the third volume of the *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften,* 1st edit. 1883, 2nd edit. 1885, giving the best statement of the science yet published in German.

OOSTERZEE, J. J. VAN, *Practical Theology, a Manual for Theological Students, translated and adapted to the use of English readers by M. J. Evans,* Hodder, 1877. [Clear, well arranged, and popularly put.]

(2.) *On Homiletics, or the Theory of Preaching.*

STURTEVANT, P. T., *Preacher's Manual, or Lectures on Preaching, furnishing rules and examples of every kind of pulpit*

address, 3rd edit., Ward, 1838. [Somewhat formal, but still useful.]

VINET, A., *Homilétique ou Théorie de la Prédication*, Paris 1853, translated under the title of *Homiletics, or the Theory of Preaching*, T. & T. Clark, 1853. [Very lucid and able.]

FISH, H. C., *History and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence (deceased divines), comprising the masterpieces of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, Fléchier, Abbadie, Taylor, Barrow, Hall, Watson, M'Laurin, Chalmers, Evans, Edwards, Davies, etc. etc., with discourses from Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Augustine, Athanasius, and others amongst the Fathers, and from Wickliffe, Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Knox, Latimer, etc. of the Reformers, also sixty other celebrated sermons from as many eminent divines in the Greek and Latin, English, German, Irish, French, Scottish, American, and Welsh Churches, a large number of which have now, for the first time, been translated; the whole arranged in their proper order, and accompanied with historical sketches of preaching in the different countries represented, and biographical and critical notices of the several preachers and their discourses*, 2 vols., New York 1857.

——— *Pulpit Eloquence of the Nineteenth Century, being supplementary to the History and Repository of Sacred Eloquence, deceased divines, and containing discourses of eminent living masters in Europe and America, with sketches biographical and descriptive, with a supplement carrying down the work to* 1874, *and including discourses by Beecher, Adams, Parker, and many others, with an introductory essay by Ed. A. Park*, New York 1874. [Gives prominent examples of the German, French, American, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh pulpit.]

BAUTAIN, M., *The Art of Extempore Speaking, Hints for the Pulpit, the Senate, and the Bar, translated from the French*, 4th edit. 16mo, Bosworth, 1867.

HOOD, E. PAXTON, *Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets, Lectures delivered to Students for the Ministry on the Vocation of the Preacher, illustrated by anecdotes, biographical, historical,*

and elucidatory, of every order of pulpit eloquence, from the great preachers of all ages, Jackson, 1867.

PARKER, JOSEPH, *Ad Clerum, Advices to a young Preacher,* first published in the *Pulpit Analyst* for 1869, and since published separately. [Brilliant, humorous, and useful.]

SHEDD, W. G. T., *Homiletics and Pastoral Theology,* 12mo, Edinburgh 1869. [Brief but good.]

MOORE, DANIEL, *Thoughts on Preaching, specially in relation to the Requirements of the Age,* 2nd edit. 12mo, Hatchard, 1869. [Many excellent suggestions.]

KIDDER, D. P., *A Treatise on Homiletics, designed to illustrate the True Theory and Practice of Preaching the Gospel,* New York 1871, 3rd edit., Dickinson, 1873. [Academic.]

SPURGEON, C. H., *Lectures to my Students, first series,* Passmore, 1875. [Racy and practical.]

STORRS, RICHARD S., *Conditions of Success in Preaching without Notes, three Lectures delivered before the Students of the Union Theological Seminary, New York,* 1875, New York, 12mo, 1875. [Practical hints by a great preacher.]

NEBE, A., *Zur Geschichte der Predigt, Charakterbilder der bedeutendsten Kanzelredner,* Wiesbaden 1879, 3 vols. [The first vol. deals with the time from Origen to Tauler, the second from Luther to Albertini, the third from Schleiermacher to the present (*i.e.* in Germany); a brilliant and useful series of characterizations.]

HOPPIN, J. M., *Homiletics,* New York, and Nisbet, 2nd edit. 1881. [In two parts, viz. homiletics proper, with an excellent history of preaching in all ages, and rhetoric as applied to preaching.]

BEECHER, HENRY WARD, *Yale Lectures on Preaching, first, second, and third series,* 3 vols. in 1, 12mo, New York 1881. [Original and practical, the first series treating of "the personal elements which bear an important relation to preaching," the second of "the social and religious machinery of the Church," and the third of "methods of using Christian doctrines."]

BURGESS, HENRY, *The Art of Preaching and the Composition of Sermons, with an introductory Essay on the present position and influence of the pulpit of the Church of England,*

designed chiefly for the use of theological students and the younger clergy, Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1881.

PHELPS, AUSTIN, *Theory of Preaching, Lectures on Homiletics,* 4to, Dickinson, 1882. [The most complete text-book in English, full of terse and practical hints.]

——— *Men and Books, or Studies in Homiletics, Lectures introductory to the Theory of Preaching,* 12mo, Dickinson, 1882. [Should be read with the preceding.]

——— *English Style in Pulpit Discourse, with special reference to the Usages of the Pulpit,* Dickinson, 1883. [Full of acute suggestion.]

DALE, R. W., *Nine Lectures on Preaching delivered at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut,* 4th edit. 12mo, Hodder, 1882. [Valuable side-lights on the training of the preacher.]

(3.) *On Pastoral Theology in the Narrower Sense, or the Theory of the Office and Functions of the Pastor.*

VINET, A., *Théologie pastorale,* Paris 1854, translated under the title, *Pastoral Theology, the Theory of a Gospel Ministry,* 2nd edit., T. & T. Clark, 1855. [Lucid and suggestive.]

BLUNT, J. H., *Directorium Pastorale, Principles and Practice of Pastoral Work in the Church of England,* 12mo, Rivingtons, 1864.

BURGON, J. W., *A Treatise on the Pastoral Office, addressed chiefly to candidates for holy orders or to those who have recently undertaken the cure of souls,* Macmillan, 1864.

PEARSALL, J. S., *Public Worship, the best Methods of Conducting it,* 2nd edit., Jackson, 1867. [Full of reverent suggestions concerning Nonconformist worship.]

BLAIKIE, W. G., *For the Work of the Ministry, a Manual of Homiletical and Pastoral Theology,* 12mo, Strahan, 1873. [Useful.]

FAIRBAIRN, PATRICK, *Pastoral Theology, a Treatise on the Office and Duties of the Christian Pastor,* 12mo, T. & T. Clark, 1875. [Characterized by all the thoroughness, evangelical spirit, and balance of the author.]

M'ALL, S., *The Pastoral Care, or Practical Hints on the*

Constitution, Discipline, and Services of Congregational or Independent Churches, and the various branches of ministerial duty in reference to the same, 2nd edit. 16mo, Hodder, 1875. [Brief and practical.]

HOPPIN, J. M., *Pastoral Theology,* New York and London, 1885. [Diffuse but good.]

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